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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 436.

*In the Debate upon the Motion made
by M. Horatius Barbatus, begun in
my last, the next Speech I shall give
you was that made by C. Plinius
Cæcilius, who spoke in Substance
thus:*

My Lords,



BEFORE we can with
any Propriety enter se-
riously into the Debate,
'tis necessary we should
well understand the Na-
ture of the Question before us. I
shall not, therefore, at present trou-
ble you with entering into the Me-
rits, I shall only take the Liberty
to state the Question, according as
it appears to me. His Majesty, in
his Speech from the Throne, at the
Opening of the Session, demanded
of the other House a Supply for the
Service of the ensuing Year, and
told them he would order Estimates
of the particular Services to be laid
before them. Those Estimates were
accordingly laid before them; but
then, as we are now engaged in a
War, and as his Majesty, it seems,

is resolved to undertake, if possible,
some secret Expeditions against the
Enemy, an Account of which nei-
ther can nor ought to be made pub-
lick, a greater Supply will be ne-
cessary than can appear by the Esti-
mates laid before the other House,
and this his Majesty thought him-
self obliged to acquaint them of;
because, otherwise, he could not
have expected any greater Supply
than appeared necessary by the E-
stimates he had ordered to be laid
before them, and consequently he
could not have undertaken any se-
cret Expedition against the Enemy,
however probable the Success might
have appeared, or however expedi-
ent future Accidents or Circumstan-
ces might have rendered it for him
to engage in such a one.

The Message, therefore, which
is now under your Lordships Consi-
deration, I can look upon in no
other Light, than as a Message to
the other House, to acquaint them,
that some Expence would be neces-
sary, of which no Estimate could
be made; and in this Light I must
look upon it as a Sort of Estimate,

R r r

and

and must think, that your Lordships have as much Reason to complain, that all the Estimates for the particular Services of the ensuing Year were not communicated to you, as well as to the other House, as you have to complain, that this Estimate was not communicated to you at the same Time it was sent to the Commons.

Upon this M. Agrippa stood up, and spoke to this Effect:

My Lords,

I AM surprized to hear the noble Lord that spoke last, state the Case as he has done. It is not possible to look upon this Message in any Light that can make it bear the least Resemblance to an Estimate. It is a Message for a new Supply; a Supply arising from new Measures, which were not so much as hinted at in his Majesty's Speech from the Throne. Let us, my Lords, but consider the Words of his Majesty's Speech, and we must conclude, that the Message now under our Consideration, can have no Relation to any Supply thereby demanded. His Majesty, when he addresses himself to the House of Commons, tells them, that he has ordered Estimates for the Service of the ensuing Year, and likewise Accounts of the extraordinary Expenses of the current Year, as also an Estimate of the Charge of raising a Body of Marines, to be laid before them; and then he says, he cannot doubt but they will grant such effectual Supplies, as may enable him to carry on the War with Vigour. Can the Word, Supplies, here relate to any Thing but the Estimates and Accounts, which his Majesty had ordered to be laid before them? Can any one suppose, his Majesty meant, that it should relate to a Charge, of which no Estimate or Account could be laid

before them? Or could any Lord in this House suppose, from what his Majesty there said, that any Measures were to be undertaken, which were not to be mentioned in any of the Estimates? If any such Measures were then thought on, they ought to have been mentioned in his Majesty's Speech from the Throne: If they have since fallen under Consideration, his Majesty should have been advised to have come again to the House, and acquainted us of it by a new Speech, or at least he should have been advised to have communicated it to both Houses by Message. If his Majesty had by either of these Methods told us, that he had under his Consideration such Measures as would require an additional Expence, but could not be communicated, I am sure, I should not, I believe no Lord in this House would have desired a Discovery.

It is the Business of the other House, my Lords, to consider and determine, what Supplies may be necessary for the publick Service: It is their Business to consider and determine, what Ways and Means may be most proper for raising those Supplies; and we are to give our Concurrence, if we think they are in the Right. But as to the Measures or Services which make those Supplies necessary, it is our Business to consider and determine, whether or no they are proper: It is this House that his Majesty ought chiefly to consult upon such Occasions; therefore no Supplies ought to be either asked or granted, till the Measures or Services have been communicated, or at least mentioned to this House, either by Speech or Message; and as from the very Words of the Message, it appears to be a Message for a new Supply, which is to be applied to Services or Measures, that were never before so much as hinted to this House, it ought

ought for this Reason to have been communicated to this House, to the End that we might have had some Opportunity of approving or disapproving of the Measures; and, at the same Time, it ought to have been communicated to the other House, to the End that they might have provided the Supplies necessary for carrying on those Measures.

Having thus shewn, my Lords, that it is not possible to put such a Meaning upon this Message, as has been put by the noble Lord that spoke last, I shall not trouble your Lordships at present with entering farther into the Debate, because I have as yet heard very little said against the Motion; but if I should hear any material Objection made to it, I shall beg Leave to rise up again, in order to approve of the Objections, if I think them such as ought to be approved of, or to give them such an Answer, as I may think sufficient for preventing their having any Influence in this Debate.

The next that spoke was C. Cicerejus, whose Speech was in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

HOWEVER proper or necessary the Motion now under our Consideration may be, I wish that noble Lords would, when they make any Motion, keep close to the Argument, and avoid launching out into personal Invectives. The introductory Speeches that have been made in Favour of this Motion, look'd, in my Opinion, more like an Introduction to an Impeachment, than an Introduction to a Motion for vindicating the Privileges of this House. If our Liberties are expiring, my Lords, or if any Attack has been lately made upon them, why does not some one of the noble Lords that think so, stand up in his Place, and impeach those who are carrying on, or contriving any such At-

tack? It is what every Lord has a Right to do: It is what every Lord ought to do. Instead of bewailing upon every Occasion the Danger our Liberties and Constitution are exposed to, by secret Machinations or fraudulent Practices, they ought to explain those Machinations and Practices to the House, and they ought to conclude with an Impeachment in Form against the Persons they suppose to be the Authors of such wicked and dangerous Designs.

I hope, my Lords, I have as great a Concern for the Liberties of the Nation, and for the Rights and Privileges of this House, as any Lord that has the Honour of having a Seat in this august Assembly: If I thought, that any Attack had been made upon either, no Lord should be more ready than I, to concur in Measures for bringing the guilty Authors and Abettors to condign Punishment. But I do not think, that the least Attack has been lately made upon either; and in the present Case, I do not think it can be supposed, there was any Design of attacking the Rights or Privileges of this House. His Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, desired such Supplies as might be effectual for enabling him to carry on the War with Vigour; and if any one of those Supplies be of such a Nature, as not to admit of an Estimate, can we suppose, that his not acquainting us of this, was designed as a Violation of any of the Privileges of this House? It is well known to every Lord here, that no Estimate is ever laid before us: We generally agree, or we may disagree, to the Supplies granted by the other House, without seeing any Estimate. Whereas, in the other House, a particular Estimate for each particular Service is always laid before them, and they never grant a larger

Sum for any particular Service, than appears from the particular Estimate to be necessary; nor do they grant any Sum for any particular Service, without having an Estimate for that particular Service previously laid before them. Therefore, when a Service was to be incurred, for which no particular Estimate could be made, it was necessary for his Majesty to tell them so; but in my Opinion, it would have been both improper, and contrary to the Usage of Parliament, to have said any Thing of it to this House in his Majesty's Speech, and much more so, to have acquainted us of it by a particular Message. It would very probably have given the Alarm to the other House, as if his Majesty designed, that we should interfere with them in granting the necessary Supplies; and therefore, I think, his Majesty's not communicating this Message to us, was so far from being any Sign of Disrespect towards us, that it was a new Testimony of his Wisdom, and of the great Regard he has to the Usage of Parliament, and to the Peace and Happiness of his People.

But suppose, my Lords, I were of Opinion, that this Message ought to have been communicated to this House at the same Time it was communicated to the other; yet, as I am fully satisfied, that no Affront was intended to be put upon us, by not sending this or some such Message to us, at the same Time it was sent to the other House, I could not, in our present Circumstances, concur with the Motion now before you; because I should be afraid, that our coming to such a Resolution might interrupt that Unanimity, which is so necessary for bringing the War we are now engaged in, to a happy and speedy Issue; and when the noble Lord considers this, I hope he will not insist upon having his Motion put to the Question.

C. Oppius next stood up, and made a short Speech to the Effect as follows, viz.

My Lords,

A I CANNOT pretend to be so nice a Judge of the Rights and Privileges of this House, as some of your Lordships may be; but I cannot think, that an Application to the other House singly, in any Matter that relates to the Supply, is such a direct and open Violation of the Rights and Privileges of this House, as ought to prevail with us, to come to a Resolution that may raise Heats and Animosities about particular Rights and Privileges amongst ourselves, when the Rights and Privileges of the whole Nation are in so much Danger. I am persuaded, an Account of this Motion will be look'd on as very good News by the late Duke of Ormond at the Head of his Rebel Army in Spain. From the very Motion itself, I believe, both he and the Court of Spain will conceive Hopes of Success in their intended Invasion; and if they conceive such Hopes from the Motion, what will they not expect, should they hear of its being agreed to? I am for doing nothing that may give them the least Encouragement to attempt an Invasion upon this Nation, and therefore I shall be against agreeing to the Resolution proposed.

L. Duronius then stood up again, and spoke thus:

My Lords,

I WAS in some Hopes, the noble Lord would have been prevailed on to have stood up and waved his Motion; but as the Question seems to be insisted on, and as some Lords may be under Difficulties with regard to a Negative's being put upon such a Motion, and yet may be con-

convinced, that the present is a very improper Time for our coming to such a Resolution, therefore I shall beg Leave to move, that the previous Question may be put.

Upon this M. Agrippa stood up again, A and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

UPON such a Motion as this, I am extremely surprized to hear any of your Lordships move for the previous Question. The previous Question, my Lords, may in many Cases be right, but surely it cannot be so in this. When a Motion is made, which appears to be in itself right, but which is neither necessary nor proper to be put to the Question at that Time, the previous Question may then properly be moved for, and it is prudent to make use of it for waving a Question, which does not then necessarily require an Affirmative, and which cannot, in its own Nature, admit of a Negative. But can the Question now before you be said to be of such a Nature? My Lords, if it cannot admit of a Negative, it necessarily and immediately requires an Affirmative. It is a Question that affects the Honour of this House, and consequently the Honour of every Lord in it. If the Honour of this House has been attacked by sending such a Message to the House of Commons singly, which the previous Question supposes, will any of your Lordships say, that we ought not immediately to vindicate our own Honour, at least by such a Resolution as my noble Friend has been pleased to propose? Can our agreeing to such a Resolution be attended with bad Consequences at this Time, any more than at another? My Lords, it can be attended with no bad Consequences either to the Nation

in general, or to any particular Man. It is so prudently drawn up, that it can affect no Person in the Kingdom: But if such a Thing could be supposed, shall we allow the Safety of any Subject whatever, to stand in Competition with the Honour and Dignity of this House?

We may talk of Impeachments, my Lords, and of the Right that every Lord in this House has, to stand up in his Place, and impeach whomsoever he supposes to be guilty; but if it should appear, which, I hope, it never shall, that the Majority of your Lordships have a greater Regard for the Safety of any particular Subject, than for your own Honour, or the Honour of this Assembly, I am sure it would be an imprudent and very ridiculous Step in any Lord, to rise up and impeach that Person before this Assembly, even tho' he could bring evident Proofs of his being guilty of the most heinous Crimes and Misdemeanors. In all Cases of Impeachment, there are several preparatory Steps or Motions necessary, before any Lord can directly impeach; and when such preparatory Motions are disagreed to by the House, it becomes impracticable for any Lord to proceed to an Impeachment. In the present Case, if what is now complained of, were of such a heinous Nature, as to deserve an Impeachment, the first preparatory Step would be some such Motion as this, and the next would be a Motion for addressing his Majesty to know who had advised him; both which Motions must be agreed to, and an Answer returned from his Majesty, before any Lord could stand up in his Place, and impeach the Person who gave the Advice. But at present there is no such Design: If there were, the Motion would have been drawn up in much stronger Terms. We may see from the Terms in which it is drawn up, that

that the noble Lord has no other Design, than to vindicate the Rights and Privileges of this House; and for this Purpose, his Motion will have a good Effect, whatever may be its Fate. Even tho' our agreeing to it should at this Time be prevented by the previous Question, yet the very Motion will, I hope, prevent any Minister's daring to shew such a Contempt of this House for the future.

This, I hope, my Lords, will be the Consequence of the Motion, even tho' you should put the previous Question upon it; but, if that Question should pass in the Negative, I must beg your Lordships to consider what Effect it may have with regard to your own Characters. By putting the previous Question, you admit, that the Motion is in itself right: What Reason then can be assigned for your not agreeing to it? None but the Regard you have for those who have, at present, the Honour to be his Majesty's Counsellors and Advisers; and will not the censorious World from thence conclude, that you have a greater Regard for them, than you have for your own Honour or Reputation? Therefore, if the previous Question should be put, as it must be, if insisted on, I hope every Lord that thinks the Honour of this House is not in the least affected, by the sending of this Message to the other House without taking any Notice of this, as well as every Lord who thinks otherwise, will give his Affirmative upon the previous Question, in order that the principal Question may be put; for those who think the Honour of this House not in the least affected, ought to be for having a Negative put upon the principal Question, in order to vindicate their own Characters; and those who think otherwise, ought to insist upon having the principal Question immediately

agreed to, in order to vindicate the Honour of this Assembly. In a Case of Honour, my Lords, there is no Doubt to be admitted of; for no Man can have a true Regard to his Honour, that does not immediately endeavour to vindicate it, in every Case where there is the least Suspicion of its being attack'd.

But, my Lords, can any one of your Lordships doubt of the Affront that has been put upon this House, in not communicating to us a Measure in which the Nation is so much concerned? Are we to agree to the Supplies voted by the other House, without knowing any one Reason for our so doing? The other House will probably, I hope they will, grant a Supply for the Measures now under his Majesty's Consideration; but how are we to know that there are any such Measures under his Consideration? Are we to take an Information, with regard to his Majesty's Intentions, from the Commons? God forbid, my Lords, that ever any of your Lordships should entertain so mean a Thought. What can we think then of this Neglect? Must we not think, that we are forgotten by his Majesty, or, at least, by those who have the Honour to advise him? And, if this House should once come to be forgotten by the Crown, it will be forgotten by every Man in the Kingdom. It will be deserted even by those who then have the Honour, I may say the Misfortune of being Members. It will then be attended only by three or four Court Lords, and perhaps half a Dozen or a Dozen of Prelates; and, if this should ever come to be the Case, we may easily judge what Weight or Authority it will have among the People.

For this Reason, my Lords, I think we are infinitely obliged to the noble young Lords that made and seconded this Motion; and, if they have expressed themselves a little

little warmly, they ought to be applauded. It is natural for a young Gentleman of any Spirit to grow warm, when he thinks his Honour in the least Degree attack'd: My Lords, it is with Pleasure I perceive a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty beginning to prevail among the young Lords of this House. Their Example will, I hope, be followed by all the Youth of the Nation; and therefore, I must look upon them as the best Securities we can have for the Preservation and Improvement of our Constitution. Old Men may, perhaps, be a little too passive: They may sit still under an Incroachment, rather than expose themselves to the Danger and Fatigue of opposing it; and thus, by suffering Incroachment after Incroachment, the Constitution may be undone: But, when the Youth of a free Nation are indu'd with a true Spirit of Virtue and Honour, they will take fire upon the first Incroachment: They will bear any Fatigue, they will expose themselves to any Danger, rather than allow the first to go unpunished, or at least unresented; and thus, by opposing the first, they will prevent a second.

It is needless, my Lords, to ask a Precedent for our complaining of the Message now under our Consideration. It is hardly possible there should be any one directly in Point. There never was such a Message sent to both, or either House of Parliament, before the Year 1717. But, I must observe, that this is not the first Affront that has of late been attempted to be put upon this House. In the Year 1726, his late Majesty was advis'd, in a Message then sent, to call the other House the Parliament, as if this House had been no Branch of the Legislature. This was then properly re-sented: Those who advis'd it, were oblig'd to own it was a Mistake; and it was, almost with Tears in

their Eyes, they prevented a farther Resentment. This is a Precedent for our complaining when any Neglect seems to be shewn us by the Crown. The two Cases, I shall grant, are far from being parallel; for the present Case is as much stronger than the former, as Facts are stronger than Words. In the former Case, the other House was, in Words only, called the Parliament; but in the present, they are, in Fact, treated as such. They have been singly consulted in a Point of the greatest Importance and Concern to the Publick, as if we, of this House, had no Share in the Legislature or Government of our Country. Therefore, if we had then Reason to complain, as the Majority of this House, at that Time, thought we had, the Reason we now have, is more cogent, and ought to be more prevailing.

Our Sovereign's addressing himself, in his Speech, to the other House particularly, when he mentions the necessary Supplies, can afford no Pretence or Excuse for the Neglect now shewn to this. In every Speech from the Throne, the first Part of it is address'd to both Houses; and, in that, the Measures or Services which make the Supplies necessary, are mentioned: Being thus inform'd of the Services, we may judge of them, and may declare against them, if we think them improper or inconsistent with the publick Good. But with regard to the Services or Measures mentioned in this Message, we have had no Information of them, in a Parliamentary Way, and therefore can no Way judge of them, or give his Majesty any Advice concerning them. If his Majesty had been so good as to let us know, that he has certain Measures under his Consideration, which will occasion some extraordinary Expence, not comprehended in the Estimates laid be-

fore the other House, I should certainly have approved, without enquiring what the Measures were, and should have been ready to have concurred in granting a Supply sufficient for carrying them into Execution, because, I believe, they are right, and such as may contribute to our Success in the present War. But, if I had thought otherwise, if I had thought that his Majesty had been advised to send the Fleets and Armies of this Kingdom upon some romantick Expedition, I would have been so far from approving, that I should probably have moved for an Address, in order to give his Majesty proper Advice upon the Occasion; and, if the other House had granted a Supply for the carrying on of such Measures, I should have refused giving it my Concurrence in this House. Whereas, in the present Case, I can neither approve nor disapprove of the Measures; and, if the Grant of a Supply for carrying on Measures I know nothing of in a Parliamentary Way, should come up from the other House, I am sure, I shall think myself bound in Duty to my King and Country, as well as for the Sake of the Honour of this House, to oppose as much as I can our giving our Concurrence to such a Grant.

'Tis true, my Lords, the Estimates for the particular Services are not laid before this House; but I hope no Lord imagines, that it is because we have not a Right to examine into the Supplies granted by the other House for answering those Services. We may not only examine into them, but we may prevent their having any Effect, by refusing our Concurrence: We ought to do so, when we know nothing in a Parliamentary Way, of the Services for which they were granted; and tho' the Estimates for the particular Services are not usually laid before us, yet our Sovereign, in his

Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of the Session, either does, or ought to communicate to us, in general Terms, the Services for which the Supplies are to be granted, and in our Presence acquaints the other House, that he has ordered the particular Estimates and Accounts to be laid before them. Nay, even as to those Estimates and Accounts, we may, if we please, call for them, and may examine particularly into every one of them: 'T would be our Duty to do so, if we should have the least Suspicion, that any one of them were false, or over-charged.

From what I have said, my Lords, I hope, it will appear, that those who advised his Majesty to send a Message to the other House, relating to publick Measures to be undertaken, without taking any Notice of this House, have been guilty of a Violation of our Rights and Privileges, as one, and I hope I may yet say, the superior House of Parliament; and this Violation, 'tis the more necessary for us to take Notice of, because it is a Violation of those Parliamentary Forms of Proceeding which, by our Constitution, it has always been thought necessary to observe. Such a Violation, my Lords, gives me a most melancholy Consideration; because the Substance of a Constitution of Government must be gone, before any one will dare to attack the Forms. Even in the most absolute Governments that have been established upon the Ruins of Liberty, the Forms of their ancient Constitution have been preserved. The Romans retained their Senate and their popular Magistrates, even under their most arbitrary and tyrannical Emperors; and the Consent of that Senate seemed to be asked to every publick Act; the Election of their Consuls, their Tribunes, and several other Magistrates, seemed to be left

left to the free Choice of the People; but every one knows, that their Senates always approved what the Tyrant's chief Minister dictated, and the People always chose for their Magistrates, the Persons that were nominated by him; so that in Effect the Government was as absolute, and much more tyrannical, than it could have been, had they had no Appearance of a Senate, or of any popular Magistrate. In France likewise, the Forms of their ancient free Constitution are still preserved. The Parliament of Paris still registers the King's Edicts; but that Parliament has not now the Liberty to refuse. So in this House, we may be allowed to approve of those Measures, which our Sovereign and his Ministers have before resolved on; and this Form, or rather Farce of having our Approbation, may be continued for many Years after our Liberty or Power of refusing it is taken away. I hope the Ceremony of having our Approbation is not as yet become a mere Piece of Form, or a mere Farce; but from the Treatment now complained of, I must suppose, that those who advised his Majesty to treat us in such a Manner, are of Opinion, that even this Farce is now become unnecessary, for, it seems, they do not think our Approbation to their Measures so much as worth asking.

My Lords, the Constitution of our Government, according to its ancient Form, is the most perfect, I believe, that was ever establish'd; and therefore we certainly will, as long as we have any Honour or publick Spirit left, endeavour to preserve it. A very great Historian and Politician has long ago said, that the best Form of Government is that, which consists of a certain Mixture of the three principal Sorts of Government; but such a Form

of Government, says he, cannot possibly long endure. We in this Kingdom have fallen upon that Mixture, which he recommends; and thank God, we have hitherto defeated his Prophecy. Our Ancestors have preserved that Mixture for many Ages, often at the Risk of their Lives and Fortunes: God forbid! my Lords, it should perish in our Hands. But if we should once allow any Minister to tread under Foot, or in the least despise the Rights and Privileges of this House, or to advise our Sovereign to do so, the Dignity of the Peerage will evanish, and if the Dignity of the Peerage should evanish, the Dignity of the Crown itself will be gone; for the Dignity of our Sovereign consists in his being sovereign Lord of a free People, and a great Number of considerable and independent Lords. Our Constitution will soon deviate into a Democracy, which will of course soon come under the absolute Rule of one, perhaps, one of the lowest Rank among them. This has been already once our Fate, and this may probably be again our Fate, if we should ever bring ourselves into publick Contempt, by allowing a daring and usurping Minister to trample upon our Rights and Privileges. To prevent this for the future, is the only Intention of the present Motion; and therefore, I hope, every Lord that thinks there is the least Cause to suppose, that our Honour has been attacked by the late Neglect that has been shewn us, will give his Affirmative to the principal Question; for I cannot think the noble Lord will insist upon the previous Question, because I have shewn, that every Lord in this House, let his Opinion be what it will, ought to be for having the principal Question immediately determined.

The next that spoke was Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

WITH regard to the Motion A now under your Lordships Consideration, the previous Question I think is right, and for this very Reason, because the principal Question is not right. There are many Questions, which ought to have a Negative put upon them, whereof I think this is one, and yet there may be Danger in attempting to put that Negative; because, if the principal Question should be put, what by the ill-grounded Prejudices of some, and the unreasonable Difficulties of others, it may be carried in the Affirmative, very much to the Detriment or Danger of the Commonwealth.

The present Question, my Lords, is, I say, in my Opinion, a Question of this Nature: If it were to be put, I should be under no Difficulty in giving my Negative to it, because, I think, the sending of this Message to the other House singly, was neither contrary to the Customs of Parliament, nor any Way derogatory to the Rights or Privileges of this House. His Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, acquainted us of the just and necessary War he was engaged in, and in our Presence demanded of the other House such effectual Supplies, as might enable him to carry on the War with Vigour. In our Presence he told the other House, that he had ordered the Estimates, for the Service of the ensuing Year, to be laid before them; but could any Lord of this House, or any Member of the other, then imagine, that Estimates could be made of all the Services that in Time of War might become necessary? We all know, my Lords, that in Time of

War, the most effectual Measures for carrying it on with Success, are generally such as ought to be kept secret, till the very Moment of Execution. The Preparations for the Execution of such Measures must be attended with an extraordinary Expence, and it is impossible to lay any Estimate of that Expence before either House of Parliament, without divulging those Measures which are to be carried on. Therefore, I think, from his Majesty's Speech itself, we could not but expect, that, besides the Estimates usually laid before the other House, and which might be laid before them without divulging those Measures that ought to be kept secret, I say, we could not but from thence expect, that some certain Sum would be demanded for the carrying on of Measures, that neither could, nor ought to be communicated; and the ascertaining of that Sum may, I think, properly be called the Estimate for those Services or Measures; so that the Message complained of, I must look upon as an additional Estimate, or as an Extension of the Estimates previously laid before that House; and I do not think it is contrary to the Customs of Parliament, or derogatory to the Privileges of this House, in his Majesty, to lay, or to order to be laid, any Sort of Estimate before the other House, without ordering it at the same Time to be laid before this.

From the Journals of Parliament, my Lords, it will appear, that during the War in Queen Anne's Reign, there were many such Messages sent to the House of Commons only. Nay, during the whole War, it was in every Session the Custom, to enable her Majesty to apply any Part of the Supplies granted in that Session, to secret, or not then thought of Services. And so far was this House at that Time from imagining, they were to be consulted with respect

respect to every warlike Measure, the Crown might think proper to undertake, that those disappropriating Clauses, as I may call them, were always agreed to without the least Intimation from the Crown, that any secret Measures were then A under Consideration.

I shall grant, my Lords, that when his Majesty is to ask the Advice of his Parliament, it is this House he ought principally to apply to. I shall likewise grant, that it is prudent in the Crown to advise B with its Parliament in all Cases of great Importance, unless they be such as require great Secrecy. His present Majesty has always done so; and has never, in the least, departed from that Advice which has, from Time to Time, been given him by his Parliament. But, I hope, no Lord will say, that his Majesty is never to make the least Step, without first consulting his Parliament; and, in Cases which require Secrecy, it is impossible for him to have the Advice of his Parliament, because he cannot apply for it without divulging the Secret. The Measures he has now under Consideration, and which will require some extraordinary Expence, an Estimate of which, or the Amount of which, he has, according to Custom, ordered to be laid before the other House, are Measures which must be kept secret, and therefore they are such as he can have no Advice about from his Parliament. If he had, by Message, applied for the Advice of the other House about those, or about any Measures, the noble Lord would have been right in his Motion. A Message for Advice sent singly to the other House, would certainly have been derogatory to the Privileges of this; but, his Majesty neither asks, nor can G ask any Advice as to those Measures, either of them or us. As the Measures must be kept secret, it would, in my Opinion, have been

absurd to have sent any Message relating to them, to this House. His Majesty was obliged to tell the other House, that besides the Estimates laid before them, some farther Expence would be necessary for carrying on the War with Vigour, of which no Estimate could be laid before them, because the Measures concerted for that Purpose, were such as could not be communicated. Such a Message could not, I am sure, be properly sent to this House; and, I must desire Lords to consider, how it would have sounded, to have desired our Advice about Measures, and at the same Time to have told us, that those Measures were such as could not be communicated to us. Therefore, I must think that the C not sending of this Message to us, is so far from being derogatory to our Privileges, that it would have been inconsistent with our Dignity, to have sent it to us in the Terms in which it was sent to the other House, or in any Terms in which D it could have been conceived.

Thus, my Lords, it appears, that his Majesty could not say any Thing to us in relation to those Measures, which render this extraordinary Supply necessary; and, as to the Supply itself, as well as the Measures for which it is granted, we shall have an Opportunity to give our Consent to both, when the Appropriation Clause comes to receive the Concurrence of this House, which it must do, before it can be passed into a Law. Therefore, there can, in my Opinion, be no just Reason for this Complaint, and I am sure, there is no Precedent for it. That in 1726, is far from being an Authority for it. The other House singly was then called the Parliament, which was certainly a Mistake, and which might, perhaps, have been of bad Consequence to the Honour and Dignity of this House, if it had not been resented; S s s 2 but,

but, in the Message now under our Consideration, the other House is neither called the Parliament, nor treated as such: It is treated only as that House of Parliament before which the Estimates are usually laid, and in this, I think, no Lord can say, there is any Mistake or Impropriety, nor can it, in my Opinion, in the least affect either the Honour and Dignity, or the Rights and Privileges of this House.

For these Reasons, my Lords, I should be under no Difficulty in giving my Negative to the Motion; but, as other Lords may not be so fully convinced in this Case as I am, and may therefore be unwilling to put a direct Negative upon the Motion, therefore, I think it the best Way to put the previous Question, and when that Question is put, I shall most heartily give it my Negative, in which, I hope, most of the Lords that hear me will concur.

L. Peto was the next that stood up, whose Speech was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

I AM surprized to hear the noble Duke say, that this Message ought to be considered as an Estimate, or that it could not have been conceived in such Terms, as to make it proper for being communicated to this House. Is there any one Word in the Message, that can make it look like an Estimate? Is there the least Mention of any Sum, either in general or particular? If his Majesty, in his Message to the other House, had said, that he had under his Consideration certain Measures, which would occasion an extraordinary Expence of 2 or 300,000 £. not comprehended in the Estimates laid before them, there might then have been some Reason to call it an Estimate; tho' even in that Case, it ought to have been

communicated to this House, as well as the other. But in the Words it is expressed, I think it impossible to find out a Pretence for calling it an Estimate, or any Thing like an Estimate; at least I must think, that those who have found out such a Pretence, are mighty ingenious in contriving how to palliate or excuse an Affront, that has been put upon this Assembly; which is a Sort of Ingenuity that would not look very well in private Life, whatever it may do in publick. In private Life, if a Man should, without designing an Affront, do or say any Thing, or commit any Mistake or Oversight, that might look like putting an Affront upon another, he would be in the Right, should he use all his Art to explain and excuse himself; but if the Person who receives the Affront, should make use of any Art or Ingenuity for palliating the Affront put upon him, I should be apt to conclude, that such a Person had not such a Regard to his own Honour, as he ought to have.

I am, therefore, not a little surprized, to find among your Lordships, so much Art made use of upon this Occasion, and such far-fetch'd Glosses put upon this Message, in order to palliate or excuse the Neglect, or rather Contempt, that has been shewn us. But, my Lords, it is impossible, in my Opinion, to find any Excuse that can have the least Weight upon those, who have a true and a nice Regard to the Honour of this Assembly. The Message is plainly this, that his Majesty has under his Consideration, certain secret Measures or Designs for attacking or distressing the Enemy, which will occasion an extraordinary Expence, the Particulars of which he cannot, for the Sake of Secrecy, communicate, but desires the Assistance of the other House, for enabling him to carry them

them on, in the most effectual Manner. Is not this a Communication of his Majesty's Designs, as far as they could be communicated? and ought not we to have had this Communication made to us, as well as the other House? Or was it less necessary to ask our Assistance, than to ask the Assistance of the other House? No Minister could think it was, but he who thinks himself so sure of our Favours, that they are not worth asking. This, my Lords, is treating us like the most common Prostitute. We have from his Majesty heard of Augmentations of our Forces by Sea and Land, we have heard of raising a Body of Marines: When the Supplies granted by the other House for these Purposes, shall come before us, we shall know what they are for; and I do not question, but your Lordships will most readily give them your Concurrence. But have we from his Majesty heard any Thing of certain secret Measures now under his Royal Consideration? And if the other House should grant a Supply for those Measures, can we concur in granting such a Supply, when we do not know, that there are any such Measures. The Appropriation Clause may inform us, that the Commons have granted a certain Sum of Money for the carrying on of certain secret warlike Measures, but it cannot inform us, that his Majesty then has, or ever had such Measures in View; for this is an Information we can take from none but his Majesty himself, and without this Information, we shall act inconsistently with the Honour and Dignity of this House, if we give our Concurrence to a Supply granted for such a Purpose.

This, my Lords, must shew how necessary it was for his Majesty, to acquaint us by Message with his having such Measures under his Consideration; and it was so easy

to have formed a proper Message for that Purpose, that I am astonished to hear the Possibility of it doubted of. Other Lords may, perhaps, much better understand the Method of drawing up a Message from the Crown to this House, because they have of late Years had great Practice in this Way, more, I hope, than I shall ever have Occasion for; but, in my Opinion, even the Message sent to the Commons would have required but very little Alteration, in order to have made it a Message proper to be sent to this House. If the Words, *not comprehended in the Estimates laid before this House*, had been left out, and the Word, *Lords*, put instead of the Word, *Commons*, I can see no Reason, why it might not have been a Message proper enough to have been sent to this House. We should then have had a proper Information of his Majesty's having such Measures under his Consideration; and we should have had an Opportunity to approve of his Majesty's Care and Concern for the Success of the War, and, perhaps, to give him some general Advice in Relation to the Measures proper to be pursued, in Case we had thought it necessary. I hope the Danger of our presuming to give our Advice upon so important an Occasion, was not the Reason of his Majesty's being advised not to let us know, that he had any Measures for the Prosecution of the War under his Consideration; for I am sure, if it was, it ought to be resented in a much stronger Manner, than the noble Lord has by his Motion proposed.

But, my Lords, whatever was the Reason for neglecting, or purposely avoiding to communicate his Majesty's Intentions to us, at the same Time they were communicated to the other House, it must appear, from what I have said, to be a most notorious and unprecedented Slight put

put upon this House. I shall not say, my Lords, we were forgotten, or that any real Injury has been done us. We were, I believe, remembered; but it was, in order to put a designed Affront upon us. We have not been injured, but we have been slighted, which is worse; because a Slight proceeds always from Contempt, whereas an Injury proceeds often from Fear. A powerful, warlike, and jealous People can never be slighted; but if their Neighbours think them too powerful, they will, probably, take an Opportunity, if they can lay hold of one, to do them a real Injury, in order to diminish their Power. It is the same with any Assembly of Men: They must be contemned, before they can be slighted; and if we submit tamely to the Slight we have upon this Occasion met with, we may assure ourselves of meeting very soon with a second from the same Hand, and so with a third, a fourth, till at last, we shall come to be contemned, slighted, and insulted by the whole World.

The noble Lord was, therefore, much in the Right to take Notice of this Slight, that has been put upon us, and to take Notice of it in the most solemn Manner. I hope the Majority of your Lordships, at least, will join with him upon this Occasion. His Youth can be no Reason for preventing the oldest Lord in this House from joining with him in such a just, such a necessary, and such a modest Sort of Resentment. It is not the first Time a Nation has been saved by the Vigilance, the Alacrity, and the Courage of a young Man of Quality. *Rome* was saved by a very young Lord, or Patrician, when many of those that were much older than he, were like to have ruined their Country by their Despair. When I say this, my Lords, every one must know, I mean the

great *Scipio*, afterwards called *Africanus*, who, before he was 20 Years of Age, saved his Country, by compelling those that were despairing, to take a solemn Oath, that they should never leave nor forsake it.

A And if there be any amongst us, that despair of being able to preserve the Dignity and Authority of this House, I hope the Example of the young Lords that made and seconded this Motion, will revive their drooping Courage, and make them resolve never to forsake or give up those Rights and Privileges, for which their Ancestors have so bravely fought, and so often bled.

But for God's Sake, my Lords, why should we be so shy of declaring our Opinion upon this Occasion? Many, I hope the Majority of the Lords of this House, are of Opinion, that the Neglect lately shewn us, affects our Honour in the most sensible Part. Why should we refuse, or delay to reject or embrace this Opinion? Let us peremptorily declare, whether it does, or does not. Suppose we should declare it does, by agreeing to the present Motion, what Prejudice can from thence ensue to the Commonwealth? Such a Resolution may, indeed, reflect a little upon the Man, who was the Occasion of this Slight being put upon us. Who he may be, I cannot comprehend. Such a Slight could not proceed from the Crown itself, nor would it have been allowed, if the Advice of any Lord of this House had been asked. Yet there are several amongst us, who have the Honour to be of his Majesty's Council; but I must suppose, that none of them were consulted upon the Occasion. I am sorry they were not: I hope they do not often find themselves so much neglected. But let this Resolution, if agreed to, reflect upon whom it will, it can do no Hurt to the Commonwealth, nor to any

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Community or Body of Men in the Kingdom. In the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges of this House, every Community, every Body of Men in the Nation, have a Concern. If ours should be brought into Danger, the Rights and Privileges of no Body of Men, nor of any particular Man, in the British Dominions could be secure. Therefore, my Lords, for our own Sakes, for the Sake of our Fellow-Subjects, for the Sake of our King, for the Sake of our Country, we are obliged to be jealous of the Rights and Privileges of this House, and consequently, I think, we are obliged to agree immediately to this Motion.

The next Speech I shall give you, was made by C. Plinius Cæcilius, who stood up again, and spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

AS I have yet given you no other Trouble in this Debate, than merely to state the Question under your Consideration, I shall now give you my Opinion upon it, which I shall do in as few Words as possible. My Lords, if I thought that any of our Rights or Privileges had been in the least violated, by not sending the Message complained of, to this House, at the same Time it was sent to the Commons, no one of your Lordships could be more ready than I should be, to agree to this Motion, or to any farther Step that should be thought necessary for ascertaining and securing our Rights and Privileges in Time to come; but, I am so far from thinking it a Violation, or even a Neglect of any of our Rights and Privileges, that I think it was absolutely unnecessary, and would have been very imprudent, to have sent any Message to this House, upon the Subject this Message related to. We

know how strenuously, and with what Warmth, the other House have for many Years asserted their having the sole Right of granting Supplies. We know what Animosities and Divisions have arisen between the two Houses, as often as any Question has been started upon this Subject, and every Lord must, with Terror, form in his Mind, an Idea of the unhappy State of Anarchy this Nation would be thrown into, should a Breach happen in our present Circumstance between our two Houses of Parliament. This, I am convinced would have been the Consequence, had his Majesty sent to this House, a Message of the same Kind with that sent to the other. The Commons would have immediately taken the Alarm, and would have said, that his Majesty, by such a Message, had in a Manner directed us to interfere with, and incroach upon them in their sole Right of granting Supplies.

Thus I have shewn, my Lords, that it would have been very imprudent in his Majesty to have sent any Message upon this Occasion to us; and that none of our Rights or Privileges, or even the Deference that is due to us, made the sending of such a Message to this House necessary. I shall now endeavour to shew, My Lords, there are three Sorts of Messages which are usually sent by the Crown, to both or either House of Parliament. The first Sort are such as usually are, and ought to be sent to both Houses: The second, such as are, and ought to be sent but to one House; and the third, such as ought to be sent to one or other of the two Houses, according to the Nature of the Business to which they relate. Of the first Sort are all Messages for Advice, or for any new Powers, especially in Affairs that relate to the Publick in general; as to which we all know, that his present Ma-

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jesty has been very exact, and has never shewn the least Sort of Neglect to one or other of his Houses of Parliament. Of the second Sort, are all Messages that relate to the Peerage, such as that in the Year 1718, which was sent to this House only, and likewise all Messages relating any way to Judicature, which are to be sent to this House singly, without taking Notice of the other, because the Cognizance of all such Affairs belongs solely to this House; and yet, if an Act of Parliament be necessary for introducing any new Regulation, with respect to either of these Cases, we must have the Concurrence of the other House, before that Regulation can be passed into a Law. Of this second Sort likewise are all Messages relating singly to the Business of Supplies, which, in order to prevent a Breach between the two Houses of Parliament, are now to be sent singly to the other House, without taking Notice of this; and yet the Grants of those Supplies, that are made by the other House, before they can be rendered effectual by being passed into a Law, must have the Concurrence of this. And of the third Sort, are all Messages which are sent to either House of Parliament, relating to any one particular Affair at that Time under the Consideration of that House.

Now, my Lords, if we consider the Message upon which the noble Lord's Motion is founded, and which he was pleased to read to you, we must conclude, that it is one of that Sort of Messages which are now to be sent singly to the other House, without taking Notice of this; because it is a Message that relates singly to the Business of Supplies. His Majesty does not thereby desire the Advice of Parliament, nor does he desire any extraordinary Powers. The Word Measures are, indeed, mentioned, but they are such Mea-

sures as neither are nor can be explained, therefore his Majesty could neither desire nor expect the Advice of either House of Parliament in relation to them: And as they are Measures which his Majesty, it seems, may undertake and carry on without any new Powers, he had no Occasion to ask for such, either from us or the Commons. He wants nothing but a Supply of Money for that Purpose, and that the other House insists upon the sole Privilege of granting; so that if his Majesty had asked any such Supply of us, they would certainly have look'd upon it as an Incroachment upon their Privileges; and as this is a Point we have never yet given up, it would of course have occasioned a Breach between the two Houses. That this would have been the Consequence, we may be convinced of, from the Method in which this Message was treated by the other House. Upon their receiving this Message, they did not vote an Address by Way of Answer to the Crown, which is the usual Method upon other Occasions; but they immediately referred it to the Committee of Supply, and in that Committee, I suppose, they have granted such a Sum, as they thought sufficient for the Purpose; and that Sum will, in the Appropriation Bill, be appropriated to carry on such Measures, as his Majesty shall judge necessary in the further Prosecution of the War. When this Clause comes before us for our Concurrence, we have no Occasion to enquire, whether his Majesty has any, or what Measures under his Consideration. From the Nature of Things we know, that in Time of War, some Measures may become necessary, which could neither be particularly communicated to, nor particularly provided for, by Parliament, either because it was necessary to keep them secret, or because they were not then thought of;

of; and therefore, we could not but expect, that some such Grant would be made by the other House, and would be sent up for our Concurrence. Nay, even from his Majesty's Speech we must have expected some such Thing; for there, his Majesty tells us, that the Services will be various and extensive; from whence we could not but suppose, that particular Estimates could not be made up for every Service that might occur in the Course of this ensuing Year.

From what I have said, my Lords, I hope it will appear, that the sending of this Message to the Commons singly, without taking Notice of this House, was no Slight, nor an Attack upon any of our Rights or Privileges, and that it would have been very imprudent in his Majesty to have sent a Message of this Kind to us; and it will likewise, I hope, from thence appear, that it would not only be wrong, but very imprudent in us, to agree to the Resolution proposed; for the same Reasons that would have made it imprudent in his Majesty to send any such Message to us, must make it imprudent in us to agree to such a Resolution. If we should agree to it, we may expect, that the other House will presently take the Alarm. They will certainly hear something of the Resolution: They will thereupon order a Committee to search our Journals, which they have a Right to do; and upon that Committee's reporting, that they have found such a Resolution in our Journals, the other House will certainly come to such Resolutions, as must occasion a Breach between the two Houses: How fatal the Consequences of this Breach may be to the Commonwealth, in our present Circumstances, I shall leave to your Lordships Consideration.

This must shew, my Lords, that we ought to be extremely shy of

agreeing to the Resolution proposed; and at the same Time I shall grant, that we ought also to be shy of giving it a direct Negative; for tho' what is now complained of, is no Violation of our Rights or Privileges, nor of that Deference that is due to us from the Crown; yet, if we should put a flat Negative upon this Motion, as it will stand upon Record in our Journals, it may hereafter be made a Precedent for something, that will be a real and downright Violation of our Rights and Privileges, or of that Regard which ought to be shewn us, as the higher House of Parliament; and for this Reason, I think, it is the most prudent Method to suspend the Decision of this Affair, by putting the previous Question upon the Motion.

The next Speech, and the last I shall give you upon this Occasion, was made by M. Agrippa, who standing up a third Time, spoke in Substance, as follows, viz.

My Lords,

I AM sorry I should be so often obliged to trouble your Lordships upon this Occasion, but really the more I hear said against this Resolution, the more important the Affair seems to grow, the more necessary, I think, it becomes for us to agree immediately to what my noble Friend has been pleased to propose. His Motion I at first thought would have had a good Effect, even though our Approbation of it should have been suspended by the previous Question; but from what the noble Lord, who spoke last against the Motion, has said, I find the Motion will have no Effect upon the future Conduct of Ministers, unless it now meets with the Approbation of this House. My Lords, it is impossible for any Minister or ambitious Prince to ruin our Constitution,

stitution, without first prostituting the Honour, and debasing the Dignity of this House; and this can never be done without our own Concurrence or Connivance. If what has been last said against this Motion, be allowed to have any Influence upon this Assembly, every future Minister that pleases will, at every Turn, take an Occasion to affront us, and to violate our Rights and Privileges, and will plead for his Excuse, that he durst not do otherwise, for fear of alarming the other House, and occasioning a Breach between the two Houses of Parliament. Nay, his Creatures in this House, as a future Minister may have some, tho', I am sure, no Minister has any such at present, will tell us, that we must not attempt to vindicate our Honour, or assert our undoubted Rights and Privileges, for fear of occasioning a Breach between the two Houses; and will be sure to represent to us in the most hideous Light, the fatal Consequences of such a Breach.

I know, my Lords, that a Breach, or a Dispute about Privileges, between the two Houses of Parliament, is a very troublesome Affair: I am sensible, that it ought to be avoided as much as possible; but it was never yet attended with any fatal Consequence. When such a Dispute happens, one or other must be in the Wrong; and when Men are allowed Time to cool, and to think deliberately upon the Subject, they generally at last give Ear to Reason, or some Methods are found out to put an End to the Dispute without a Determination; one of which has in a short Time been the Consequence of all the Disputes that have happened between us. Suppose the other House, at the Instigation of some ambitious and artful Member, should be so unreasonable, as to find fault with our vindicating our Honour, and asserting,

against an encroaching and arrogant Minister, that Regard which is due to us from the Crown, are we therefore to cease doing our Duty? Or must we, for fear of this Consequence, submit tamely to every Indignity such a Minister may please to put upon us?

For God's Sake, my Lords, do not demean yourselves so much, as to allow such an Argument to have any Weight in this Debate. Consider alone, whether in the present Case you have been neglected, and if you think we have, I am certain you will resolve to vindicate your Honour, let the Consequence be what it will. But, in my Opinion, there is not the least Danger of the other House's taking amiss any Resolution you can come to upon this Occasion. There would not have been the least Danger, as the noble Lord has been pleased to insinuate, of their taking it amiss, had his Majesty sent this Message to us, at the same Time he sent it to them.

His Lordship may distinguish Messages into as many Sorts as he pleases, but I must insist upon it, that all Messages that relate singly to the Business of Supplies, are not to be sent to the other House singly, without taking Notice of this. A Message for a Vote of Credit, is a Message that relates singly to the Business of Supplies, and yet no Member of the other House, I believe, ever imagined, that a Message for a Vote of Credit ought not to be sent to us, as well as them. My Lords, this very Message is a Message for Credit. It is a Message for an Act of Credit, which is still more than a Vote of Credit. The other House may limit the Credit they give upon this Occasion, as well as they generally do the Credit they give by a Vote; but whatever the Sum may be that is granted or promised, for doing what we know nothing of, it is a Grant or

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Vote of Credit, and every Message desiring such a Vote or Grant, ought to be sent at the same Time to both Houses. The other House's referring this Message immediately to the Committee of Supply, without voting an Address by Way of Return to it, is no Argument for shewing, that they thought the Message ought not to have been communicated to this House. Last Session they treated the Message then sent in the same Manner. Tho' it was a Message for a Vote or an Act of Confidence, as well as Credit, they referred it immediately to the Committee of Supply, without thinking of addressing his Majesty by Way of Return: Nor did they think of taking it amiss, that the Message was communicated to us, as well as them. Have we not within these few Years seen several Messages for a Vote of Credit only? Have not all these Messages been sent at the same Time to both Houses? And did the other House ever think of taking it amiss, that such a Message was communicated to this House? The Case would have been the same, had this Message been sent to us: The other House would not have so much as thought of taking it amiss; nor would ever such a Thought have entered, I believe, into any Man's Head, if it had not been to excuse the Blunder of a Minister, which, I think, is the softest Name I can give the Neglect, that has been shewn us upon this Occasion.

I am really surprized to hear any Lord of this House arguing from the sole Right the Commons pretend to, of granting Supplies, that they may from thence take Occasion to prevent all Sort of Communication between the Crown and this House, which might be the Case, if they should be allowed to be Judges, what Sort of Messages ought to be sent to this House. My

Lords, we have never yet yielded to them the sole and exclusive Right of granting Supplies, or that we have not a Right to alter and amend those Money-Bills they send up to us. It was but in the Year 1696, that they came to a Resolution, which they afterwards made a standing Order, not to confer with this House about any Amendment made by us to a Money-Bill, and this is the only Determination this Affair has as yet met with, which is a Determination we are not in the least obliged to stand to. This very Dispute, it is true, occasioned a Breach between the two Houses in the Year 1671, which was the Occasion of dropping one of the Money-Bills sent up by the Commons that Session; but this was so far from being a Misfortune, that it was lucky for the Nation, because it prevented the intire Ruin of the *Dutch*; for King *Charles II.* had in that Year been drawn into an Alliance with *France* for attacking *Holland*, which was accordingly soon after put in Execution; but the Loss of this Money-Bill prevented his Majesty's attacking the *Dutch* with that Vigour he might otherwise have done, and this gave them Time to prepare, and to withstand the *French* Attack by Land, much better than they could have done, had they at the same Time been vigorously attacked by Sea; so that our insisting strenuously upon our Rights at that Time, tho' it occasioned a Breach between the two Houses, was of great Service to this Nation, and to *Europe* in general.

This, my Lords, may serve as a Proof of what I take to be a general Rule in all human Affairs, which is, that in every Case that occurs, we ought to do our Duty, and trust the Event to Providence. But in the present Case, it is evident, that our agreeing to this Resolution can occasion no Breach between the two Houses,

Houses, nor be attended with any bad Consequence; for I have shewn, that the Commons could not have taken it amiss, had this Message been communicated to us, at the same Time it was to them, and consequently they cannot take amiss our agreeing to the Resolution proposed. I believe, most of them will agree with me in Opinion, that it is a dangerous Thing for the Crown to send any Message in Writing to either of the Houses, without taking Notice of the other; for there is a great Difference between a Message in Writing, and those verbal Messages sent by some of the King's Ministers or Servants. These last, indeed, may be sent to either House, according to the Nature of the Affair to which they relate; but a solemn Message in Writing, I will venture to say, ought generally to be sent to both Houses. If a Message relating to Judicature should be sent to this House singly, the other might probably take it ill; because they have never allow'd us the sole Right of being the supreme Judicature, no more than we have allowed them the sole Right of granting Supplies. And even with regard to the Peerage, if a Message in Writing were necessary for introducing or passing any Law relating to it, I believe the safest Way would be, to send it to both Houses; but I cannot conceive, how a Message can be necessary in either of these Cases: Tho' no Bill becomes a Law, till it receives the Royal Assent, yet we have, in both Houses, a Power to bring in and pass such Bills, as we think necessary for the publick Good, or the Preservation of the Constitution, without having Leave from the Crown by Message, or any other Way; for upon such Occasions no Prerogative ought to be allowed to stand in our Way.

I know that in the Year 1713,

a Message in Writing came to this House relating to the Peerage Bill; and, my Lords, it was a wise, a tender, and a salutary Message: I wish I could see such another: I am sure, if I could expect to see such another, I should be among the first to move for bringing again such a Bill as that was, into this House. If that Bill had passed into a Law, our Constitution would have been more secure, and this House a better Barrier against the Ambition of Ministers, than it is at present. We know by whom it was opposed: We know it was opposed by one, who has now great Weight in the other House; and while he has the same Weight, I believe we shall never see the same Bill revived. But the Message sent to us by the Crown upon that Occasion, was far from being necessary. It proceeded entirely from the Goodness of the late King, who was willing to give that early Testimony of his Approbation, in order to remove the Clamours of some Courtiers, who seemed to be against the Bill; and had that Message been likewise communicated to the Commons, I believe it would have been right: I cannot think it would have been attended with any bad Consequence. For in all Cases where a new Law is necessary, if a solemn Message in Writing from the Crown be necessary, as the Law must have the Concurrence of both Houses, the Message ought regularly, I think, to be sent to both.

We have been told, my Lords, that during the late War there were several Precedents of such Messages as this being sent to the other House, without taking any Notice of this. I wish the noble Lords had mentioned but one of these several Precedents, I am sure I know of none. I have shewn, that the Message now under our Consideration is directly a Message for a Vote

of Credit: It is, with respect to the Credit Part, expressly the same with that Message which was sent last Year to both Houses, and has been treated in the same Manner by the other House; and before the Year 1717, so far as I remember, there was never any such Message sent to both, or to either House of Parliament. That Message, we know, was violently opposed, and particularly by an eminent Member of the other House, who has since, it seems, got a new Light; for he has been not only the Supporter, but, I believe, the Adviser of many such Messages since that Time. During the late War, I can think of no Message in Writing, relating to the War, but what was sent to both Houses of Parliament. After the unfortunate Battle of *Almanza*, there was a Message in Writing from the Crown; but it was sent to both Houses. After the Death of the Emperor *Joseph*, there was a Message in Writing from the Crown; but it was sent to both Houses. All the Messages I can think of, that related to the Publick in general, have been sent to each House of Parliament; for it is but of late, that this Method of sending Messages has been begun. When our Sovereign had any Thing new to communicate, or any Thing new to ask, the ancient Method was, to come to his Parliament, and make a new Speech; and I wish this Method had never been altered; for it is more solemn, and more becoming that Regard which our Sovereign ought to shew to the supreme Council of the Nation.

Suppose, my Lords, we should think it necessary to disagree to the Credit desired by the Crown. Suppose we were convinced, that the Credit or Money desired would be employed in carrying on Measures, that must redound to the Prejudice of the Nation. This was the Case

in the Year 1671, and may again be the Case: I am far from thinking it is so at present; but if it were, we could, in this Method, have no Opportunity of refusing this Credit, but by doing, perhaps, an infinite Prejudice to the Publick; for the Clause of Appropriation, with respect to the Sum granted by the other House, in Pursuance of this Message, will certainly come up to us in some Money-Bill, which the publick Service necessarily requires to pass; and if we should think it necessary to throw out the Clause, we must of course throw out the Bill, or occasion a Breach between the two Houses of Parliament, which, the noble Lords, who are against this Motion, have told us, would be of the most terrible Consequence in our present Circumstances.

A noble Lord has told us, that the Sum granted by the other House in Compliance with this Message, will, in the Clause of Appropriation to be sent up to us, be appropriated to the carrying on of such Measures, as his Majesty shall think proper, in the further Prosecution of the War. My Lords, I know nothing of the Words that may be made use of in that Clause; but suppose it comes up in these Words, and that the Sum granted may be 200,000*l.* is not this giving the Crown a Credit for 200,000*l.* in the very same Manner we gave it a Credit last Year for 500,000*l.*? The only Difference is, that last Year, his Majesty deigned to ask it of us, and to tell us, it was necessary; but this Year, it seems, we are to give it without asking, and without knowing it is necessary. The noble Lord says, the Necessity of giving such a Credit in Time of War, appears from the Nature of Things. My Lords, the very contrary appears from Experience; for during the long and heavy War in Queen *Anne's* Time,

no such Credit was ever given. Her Majesty was often impower'd to apply any Part of the Supplies to secret or unthought-of Services; but there never was any particular Sum granted for that Purpose. Therefore, if we judge from Experience, as well as the Nature of Things, we must suppose, that no such Credit is necessary, and consequently, as the Crown has neither told us that it is, nor asked any such of us, we must throw out that Clause, and of course the Money-Bill in which it is inserted.

The noble Lord seemed to be sensible, that the Necessity of this Credit was not very apparent from the Nature of Things, and therefore, he endeavoured to shew, that his Majesty had told us of it, and asked for it in his Speech from the Throne. Whether any such Thing can be gathered from the Words he mentioned, or from any Words in his Majesty's Speech, I must leave to your Lordships to judge. In Time of War, the Services must always be various and extensive, but we could not suppose, that his Majesty thereby meant, that we must now grant a particular Credit for those Services, or that such a Thing would be necessary now, tho' it was never before thought necessary. I shall grant, my Lords, that some few Words might very easily have been inserted in his Majesty's Speech, which would have prevented the Necessity of sending this Message to either House of Parliament; but his Ministers, by not thinking of, and foreseeing Things before hand, have brought themselves into this Labyrinth; and I wish with all my Heart, they may not, by the same Sort of political Thoughtlessness and Blindness, have brought the Nation into such a Labyrinth, as we shall not soon, or easily get out of.

I must beg Pardon for having given your Lordships so much Trou-

ble; but the Motion now under our Consideration has, by the Debate upon it, become an Affair of so serious a Nature, that I think the very Being of this House concerned in the Question. A particular and distinct Correspondence is now opened between the Crown and the Commons, and that too about Affairs which relate to the Publick in general, Affairs of the greatest Importance: That Correspondence may increase to such a Degree, as to render your Lordships quite useless; and if you should once become so, you may depend upon your being at last voted useless by the other House, as you have been heretofore. I thought it my Duty to oppose with all my Might, the first Approach of such another Misfortune. Our Honour, our very Being requires an immediate Assent to this Motion; and as I look upon the previous Question to be a Sort of Negative, I shall, therefore, be against our disagreeing to the Motion, by that or any other Method.

The next Debate I shall give you an Account of, happened on the 29th of January last, when several of the Members of our Club being withdrawn into other Rooms of the Tavern, where our Club is kept, and into the adjacent Coffee-Houses, about their particular Business, Aulus Gabinius stood up and proposed, that a Messenger should be sent to the other Rooms of the Tavern, and the adjacent Coffee-Houses, to desire that the Members should forthwith repair to the Club, and a Messenger being accordingly sent, and most of the Members convened, L. Junius Brutus stood up and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.

Mr. President,

S. I. R,

I AM now going to lay before you a Proposition, which has already been

been several Times made to you, without meeting with that Success, which I thought it deserved; but as I think it a good one, and absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution, I am far from being discouraged by its former bad Success, nor shall I be discouraged from a future Attempt, even tho' it should now meet with as bad a Reception as heretofore; because I am fully convinced of the Truth of that Observation, which was long ago made by one of our best Lawyers, that a good Bill or Motion once proposed in Parliament, and entered upon our Journals, can never die: It may at first meet with bad Success: It may meet with repeated bad Success; but unless our Constitution be absolutely and irrecoverably destroyed, it will by its own Merits at last force its Way through the several Branches of our Legislature.

The Proposition I am to make, Sir, is plainly and in short this, that Criminals may not be allowed to be their own Judges, and that our Liberties may not be committed to the Keeping of those, who are retained to destroy them. It is the Duty of Parliament to redress all publick Grievances, and punish all high and heinous Offenders, who have been artful or powerful enough to evade the Laws of the Kingdom: It is the Duty of Parliament to grant no more Money for the publick Service, than what is absolutely necessary, and to see that Money properly applied, and duly accounted for: And it is the Duty of Parliament to watch over the Liberties and Privileges of the People, by taking Care not to pass any Laws, that are inconsistent with the Liberties and Privileges of the People, and by providing speedy and effectual Remedies against all Incroachments that have been, or may be made, by ambitious Princes, or

guilty Ministers. These, Sir, are among the chief of the Duties of Parliament; but how can we expect a Performance, if a Majority of the Members be such, whose Self-Preservation or Security depends upon their neglecting, or acting contrary to these Duties? Can we expect, that publick Grievances will be redressed, if a Majority of Parliament be such as have themselves been, or such as are the Friends and Confederates of those that have been the Cause of these publick Grievances? Can we expect, that any high Offender will be punished by Parliament, if the Majority of it be such as have been Companions and Sharers with him in his Crimes, or such whose chief Subsistence depends upon screening him from Justice? Can we expect, that any Supply demanded by the Crown will be refused, if it is to be granted by those, whose chief Subsistence depends upon making the Grant; or that the publick Money will be properly applied, or duly accounted for, if those that have applied it, or may apply it, to their own Use, are to be the only Inspectors of the publick Accounts? Or lastly, Sir, can we expect, that a Parliament will guard against the Incroachments of an ambitious Prince, or guilty Minister, if the Majority of that Parliament be such as have the Whole, or a necessary Part of their Subsistence, from the Places or Pensions they hold at the arbitrary Will of that ambitious Prince, or guilty Minister?

These are Questions, Sir, which, in my Opinion, can be answered in the Affirmative by no Man, that will and dare make use of his Reason; and yet every one of these Questions must, I think, be answered in the Affirmative by those who affirm, that our Constitution can never be in any Danger from a Majority, or near a Majority of this House's

House's being composed of such as hold Places and Pensions at the arbitrary Will of the Crown. I shall grant, Sir, that it may be necessary for us to have amongst us some of the chief Officers of the Crown. It may be necessary to have always in this House some of the chief Officers of the Treasury, Admiralty, and Army, as well as several others of those that are employed by his Majesty, as chief Officers in the executive Part of our Government. These, I say, it may be necessary to have amongst us, in order to give us such Informations, as may often become necessary in the several Branches of Business that come regularly before this House; but, I am sure, it is no way necessary, and quite inconsistent with the Dignity of this House, to have it filled with Clerks of Offices, and inferior Officers of our Navy and Army. I confess, I have the greatest Regard for such of those as we have at present amongst us; because, I hope they have all so much Honour, that they would disdain to sacrifice their Duty, as Members of this House, for any selfish Consideration; but, we cannot be assured, that those who succeed them in their Offices and Employments, will be Gentlemen of so much Honour, and as they may likewise succeed them with regard to their Seats in this House, our Constitution may be thereby brought into the utmost Danger; for, if I were not well assured of the Honour of those Officers we have now amongst us, we have already such a Number, that I should think our Constitution upon the Brink of Destruction; and, as this Number may increase so as in a short Time to become the Majority of this House, whilst we have it in our Power, we ought to take care to provide against this Danger, by limiting the Number of Officers that are to have Seats in this House;

for, if the Majority of this House should once come to be composed of Officers, and those Officers such as had a greater Regard to the Places they possess, or Preferments they hope for, than to the Liberties and Constitution of their Country, it would be ridiculous to think of getting the Approbation of this House to any such Regulation. Therefore, Sir, as this is not yet, I hope, our unfortunate Case, I shall beg Leave to move, *That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill, for the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers to sit in the House of Commons.*

This Motion introduced a very remarkable Debate in our Club, in which A. Sempronius Atratinus stood up and spoke to this Effect, viz.

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I SHOULD readily join not only in bringing in but in passing such a Bill as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to propose, if I thought it were necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution: Nay, I should join with the Hon. Gentleman in his Motion for bringing it in, in order to see what Sort of Remedy he has a Mind to propose, if I thought that the Constitution were now, or ever could be in any Danger from the Number of Officers in this House: Nay farther, I should probably join with him in this Motion at least, if I were not fully convinced, that the Excluding of any Officer who may have Fortune and Interest enough in his Country to get himself chosen, would be a most dangerous Infringement of our Constitution, and at last an infallible Cause of its Dissolution.

The Hon. Gentleman has himself, Sir, furnished us with what I take to be an unanswerable Argument against the Bill he proposes: He

He says, and, indeed, it must by every one be granted, that no Danger can ensue from the Number of Officers in this House, unless that Number be so great, as to make a Majority, and that even in this Case, no Danger can from thence ensue, unless that Majority consists of such Men, as have a greater Regard for the Offices they possess, or the Preferments they hope for, than they have for their own Honour, or the Liberties of their Country. These, therefore, are two Cases, which we must suppose may happen, before we can say there is any Necessity for such a Bill, as he has been pleased to propose; and these two Cases are, in my Opinion, of such a Nature, that we cannot suppose it possible, that either of them should ever happen, and much less can we suppose, that both may happen at one and the same Time.

We know, Sir, that a great Number of those, who have Offices and Employments under the Crown, I mean all the Officers of the Revenue, are already excluded from having Seats in this House; and as for the Officers of our Navy and Army, and all those that belong to any of the Offices kept here at *London*, they are, by the very Nature of their Office, and by the Attendance they must give, prevented from having any Intimacy or Correspondence with the Gentlemen or People of our several Counties, Cities, or Boroughs, and consequently it must be extremely difficult for any great Number of them to get themselves chosen; for the People in all Places of the Kingdom are fond of those that live amongst them, and converse with them daily, and will always chuse one of them, rather than any Stranger that comes to set up as a Candidate at an Election.

For these Reasons, Sir, I think it impossible to suppose, that ever a Majority of this House should consist of such, as hold Offices or Em-

ployments at the arbitrary Will of the Crown; and as for Pensioners, they are already excluded from having Seats in this House, as effectually as it is possible for you to exclude them by any Law you can make. But this is not the only impossible Supposition we must make, in order to frighten ourselves with the Dangers we are exposed to by a great Number of Officers having Seats in this House: We must not only suppose, that they make a Majority of the House, but that they are all such as have no Regard to their Honour, or their Country, which, I hope, will appear to be a Supposition impossible to be made, with regard to such a Number of Gentlemen of Family and Fortune in this or any other Kingdom upon Earth; for Gentlemen of Family and Fortune they must be, before they can get themselves chosen, unless you suppose their Constituents to be as great Scoundrels as themselves, which is a Supposition that, I hope, can never be made; at least, I am sure, if there should ever be Ground for making such a Supposition, it would be ridiculous to talk of preserving the Liberties of such a vicious and abandoned People.

But, Sir, before we can suppose our Constitution in Danger from a great Number of Officers having Seats in this House, we must, in my Opinion, suppose, that all those Officers are not only regardless of Honour and their Country, but downright Fools and Idiots, with regard to their own Interest. Every Gentleman that can have a Seat in this House, must now by Law be possessed of an Estate of 600*l.* or at least 300*l.* a Year, in his own Right. Whilst our Constitution is preserved, he may call this his Property, he may transmit it to his Posterity. But if our happy Constitution should be destroyed: If an absolute and arbitrary Government should

should be set up, he could do neither with any Certainty. In such Governments there is no Property, there is no Man can with Certainty depend upon being able to transmit any Thing to his Posterity; and would any Man but a Fool and a Madman render a certain, real, transmissible Estate of 600*l.* or 300*l.* a Year precarious, for the Sake of a Place or a Pension of double the Value, which he held at the mere Will of another, and which he knew he could not transmit to his Posterity. This, Sir, is so contrary to common Sense, that it is impossible to suppose, that any great Number of Men in any Age, or any Country, could be guilty of such a Piece of Madness.

From hence, I think, it is evident, that our Constitution can never be in Danger from any Number of Officers that may have Seats in this House; but if you should by a new Law exclude all those in any Office or Employment under the Crown, or all but a very few, from having Seats in this House, it would not only endanger, but, in my Opinion, certainly destroy our Constitution. Sir, I believe it will be granted, that since the happy Accession of our present illustrious Family, as great a Regard, as great a Respect has been shewn by the Crown to Parliaments, nay greater, I believe, than was ever shewn in any former Period of Time. To compare it with that Period in which our Constitution seems to have been most perfect, and our Government most wisely administered, I mean the Reign of the glorious Queen *Elizabeth*: Every one knows, that she often treated her Parliaments with more Haughtiness than has lately been so much as thought of: Nay, she sometimes treated them in such a Manner, as would now be exclaimed against, as the highest Insult, the most dan-

gerous Incroachment upon the Rights and Liberties of Parliament; and yet the Parliaments in her Time behaved in a more obedient, I may say, a more servile Manner towards the Crown, than they have ever done in any Reign since that Time; from whence I must conclude, that so far from being brought under any servile Influence by the Number of Officers we have now in the House, it contributes towards enhancing that Regard, which the Crown finds necessary to shew to us; and, I think, very good Reason it should; for surely a Gentleman who, besides his Seat in this House, and his personal Abilities, has a great Share in the Government and publick Counsels of his Country, or a great Command and Interest in the Navies and Armies of his Country, is more to be regarded than a mere Country Squire or City Merchant, who has nothing to recommend him, but his own personal Abilities, and his being a Member of this House.

Therefore, Sir, if you exclude all Officers of the Crown from having Seats in this House, you will, of one Side, lessen that Regard which the Crown now finds necessary to shew to you, and of the other, you will introduce, and in a Manner establish Faction and Sedition, not only in this House, but in every Part of the Kingdom. The chief Guard we have against Faction and Sedition has always consisted in those Honours, Posts, and Preferments, which the Crown has the sole Power to bestow: If you remove that Guard out of Parliament, the seditious great Men, who may be the Heads of Faction, may probably, in a short Time, get the Direction not only of this House, but of most of the Elections in the Kingdom; the Consequence of which would certainly be a Civil War between this House and its Followers of one Side, and the King

King and his Officers and their Followers, of the other; and by the Issue of this War, let which ever Side prevail, our Constitution would certainly be undone. This, Sir, was the Case in the Reign of Henry III. This was the Case in the Reign of A Charles I. In Henry III's Time, the great Earl of Leicester, who was Head of the Party against the King and his Ministers or Officers, not only got the Direction of the Parliament, but, by his own Authority nominated many of those that were to be chosen as Members of this House; and if that haughty Earl had not been deserted by the Duke of Gloucester, and defeated by the Courage and Conduct of the Prince of Wales, afterwards our great Edward I. that Contest would probably have ended in a total Overthrow of our Constitution, as the other I have mentioned did, in the Reign of Charles I.

From all which, Sir, I must conclude, that the Offices or Employments, which are or may be possessed by Members of this House, may serve to keep up such a Correspondence and Connexion between the Crown and Parliament, as will secure the Tranquillity of the Nation against Faction and Sedition, but can never enable any Prince or Minister to destroy our Liberties; because as soon as any such Design becomes manifest, most of the Officers, who have the Honour to be Members of this House, will declare, and thereby turn the Majority of this House against the Court; F and by that Means we shall always have it in our Power to give a Check to the wicked Designs of any ambitious Prince or guilty Minister. There can, therefore, be no Necessity for such a Bill, as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased G to propose; but on the contrary, I must think, it would be of the most dangerous Consequence to our Con-

stitution, and for this Reason I must declare against his Motion.

The next that spoke was Mæcenas, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

A N Hon. Gentleman at the lower End of the House, threw out a Proposal, to send us all to School again for the reforming our Manners. Sir, I think, our Care should be to prevent Members of Parliament from being at School, when they are here, from being under the Lash of an insolent Minister, as, if we may credit History, has happened in some former Parliaments. Sir, I do not mean the Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, however servile they are represented to have been, by an Hon. Member over the Way. I am afraid the Practice of Ministers naming Members to Boroughs at their D own Will and Pleasure, which he told us was used by the Earl of Leicester, has not been dropt since that Time, and I wish our Posterity may never see Days less advantageous to Liberty. Elizabeth loved her People, desired their Honour, E regarded their Interest, she heard their Complaints against the greatest, the most favoured of her Ministers; and yet I will own, Sir, there were many wrong Things done in her Reign, because sufficient Restraints were not then laid upon the Power of the Crown; And therefore the Example of her Reign holds out a useful Lesson to us, that even to the best of Princes we should not allow such a dangerous Influence, as may tempt them, by the Advice of bad Ministers, to encroach on our Freedom.

Sir, considering how this Bill comes recommended, I should have imagined, Gentlemen would have thought

thought it owing to themselves, if not to their Country, to seem to treat it with a little Respect. But not so much as to allow it to be brought into the House, to oppose the Principle of it, is indeed very extraordinary. There have been Times, when only for the Sake of that Principle, Bills of a much less moderate Nature, and to which there lay many Objections that cannot be made against this, have past here without Opposition. Sir, for my own Part, I think, when I am promoting this Bill, that I am contending for all I ever thought myself bound to contend for, that I am opposing all I ever thought it my Duty to oppose: All Faults and Mismanagements in the Administration of Government, the Mis-understanding, the Neglect, the giving up of all national Interests, Discontent at home, Dishonour abroad, whatever can be conceived most detrimental to the Good of the Publick, is all so closely inwoven with the Evil this Bill would prevent, that it can be guarded against, or remedied by no other possible Means. Sir, how far I am from supposing, that merely to have an Employment, without other Cause of Suspicion, implies any Notion of Guilt or Corruption, I need no other Proof than the Sense I must have of my own Situation. But though I have an Employment myself, I think it still undeniably true, that the Nation has Reason to be jealous of the Number of Placemen in Parliament; because Nations always regard Things, and not Persons; because they consider the Temptation in general, not a particular Power of resisting it; and because the publick Wisdom ought to proportion the Degree of Restraint to the Degree of Danger, that is either felt or foreseen.

While this House is full of independent Gentlemen, or with such Placemen only whose Places are not so much the best of their Property, that they cannot risk the Loss of them without a Spirit of Martyrdom, who have something of their own sufficient to outweigh their Employments, and while the Number even of these shall be confined within some moderate Bounds, a Minister must regard this Assembly as an awful Tribunal, before which, he is constantly to account for his Conduct: He must respect your Judgments, he must dread your Censures, he must feel your Super-intendency. But I can imagine, a future House of Commons so crowded with Placemen, that a Spectator in the Gallery might be apt to mistake, and think himself at the Levy of a Minister instead of a Parliament. The Benches here may be covered not only with Officers of Rank in the Government, not only with the Servants of the Crown, but with the Servants, perhaps, of those Servants; and what Sentiments, Sir, have we Reason to think the Sight of a House so filled would excite in

a Minister? Would he think himself in the Presence of his Country, or in the Midst of a Guard that would enable him to defy its Justice, and deride its Resentment? The Possibility of this happening hereafter, is the Ground of this Bill, which therefore the People of England do not only consider as a single Point to be gained for them upon any present Necessity, but as a general Security against all they apprehend for the future.

Sir, my worthy Friend who made you this Motion, in the Opening of it, explained to you sufficiently, that there is no Intent of running into any Extreams. If I thought there was, I would oppose it as much as any Man here. I know but one Thing more preposterous than such a general Place-Bill, as would exclude all Persons in Office from a Seat in this House, and that is to leave the Number of them under no Limitation at all. But, for fear of starving, must we die of a Surfeit? Between these two Absurdities, can no Medium be found? Can't we continue those among us who are of any use to the House, who can give any Assistance, any Weight, any Facility, any Grace to our Proceedings, and shut the Door against others whom it is neither decent, nor safe to admit? Sir, the doing this is easy; it will be done by this Bill; it is what the Wisdom of former Parliaments would have done long before now. But the Reason they did it not was, it never entered into their Thoughts to conceive that some, who have since sat in Parliament, could attempt to come there; I do not mean from any personal Incapacity, but from the Nature itself of their Offices, incompatible almost with the very Idea of a Member of Parliament. It is a surprizing Thing, but it is verified by what we see every Day, that the common Practice of some Ages goes beyond even the Fears of the past. We must therefore supply from Experience what our Predecessors fail'd to foresee; and we are called upon to do so by the unanimous Cry of the Nation. Sir, the greatest Affairs before us are of less Importance than this: It is better Spain should invade the Freedom of the American Seas, than the Crown of England violate the Independence of Parliament. It is not Spanish or French Arms, but Spanish and French Maxims of Government, that we should have most to fear from, if the vigilant Caution, the jealous Spirit of Liberty in this House did not concur with the Goodness, the natural Goodness of his Majesty, to secure our free Constitution. Let the *Cortez* of Spain, let the Parliament of Paris be a Warning to this; let them shew us what we may come to, if we don't prevent the Growth of Corruption, before it produces here the insensible, gradual, fatal Change it did there.

Sir, I am trying to recollect what Objections have been made to this Bill, and I pro-

test I can find none that seem to me to want a Reply. One chiefly insisted upon is, That it carries an Air of Suspicion. Sir, in all the States that I have read of, ancient and modern, the most suspicious People have been always the latest enslaved. To suspect human Frailty in tempting Circumstances is a very natural Jealousy, and too secure a Confidence will hardly be thought a Parliamentary Virtue. It is painful, indeed, to be suspected, but the greater the Pain, the greater the Desire should be to remove that Suspicion. But, Sir, against the present House of Commons, no such Suspicion can be conceived. —Upon what Grounds should it be founded, upon what Probability? Has the private Discourse of Gentlemen here, ever been different from their publick Behaviour? Have they ever talk'd one Way, and voted another? Have there been any Indications of a private Interest, that of any one Man ever prevailing over that of the Nation, against Fact, Reason, or Justice? Have not the Majority here constantly shewn the strongest Conviction, that their Conduct was strictly conformable to the most disinterested Love of their Country? Such a House of Commons ought not to be, is not suspected: But granting such a Doubt to have been formed, is this the Way to remove it? Will the rejecting this Bill clear our Character, or can all the Art and Power of Calumny give half the Weight to an Imputation of that Kind as such a Proceeding?

Sir, to those who treat this Bill as a chimerical Thing, an idle speculative Project, I will say but one Word, that the most chimerical Thing in Nature, is the Notion of a free Constitution, where the restraining Powers are not entirely exempt from Dependency. Such Liberty is, indeed, a Speculation fit for School-boys alone; for what wou'd Terms and Appearances avail, if Independence were lost? You might retain, indeed, the vain Ensigns of your former Authority, but would they give you any Dignity, wou'd they be of any Use to the Publick? The Mace there upon your Table, what would it signify? It might be borne before you with ridiculous Pomp, but it would be what *Cromwell* call'd it once, a mere Bauble; or if it had any Weight, it would be only to oppress, not to protect.

Sir, the present Form of our Government, keep it but free from Corruption, is so wisely constituted, the Powers in it are so happily mix'd, that it has all the Advantages of a Republick, without the Defects and Evils attending one. But, on the other Side, I must say, that if it should be corrupted, if the Controul of Parliament should be bought off by the Crown, the very Reverse would be true; and it wou'd have all the Defects, all the Evils of an absolute Monarchy, without the

Advantages; it would be a more expensive, and worse administered absolute Power. Sir, I hope it is understood, that in what I have said, I am only contending for a provisional Security against a Mischief not yet felt in all its Malignity, but yet, of so increasing a Nature, and such ruinous Consequences, that we must be blind not to foresee them, and worse than careless not to prevent. I will only add, that every Year we delay this Security, may probably add both to the Necessity and Difficulty of obtaining it; and that People out a-doors may be apt to judge from the Success of this Question To-day, if even now, it does not come a little too late.

[This DEBATE and JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

C. Oppius, in the Character of the late Lord Onslow.

A. Sempronius Atratinus, in the Character of John Selwyn, junior, Esq; (see p. 436.)

Craftsman, Sept. 27, and Oct. 4.

The Gazetteer's DEFENCE of the Minister examined, &c.

THE Writer of the *Gazetteer* of Sept. 11. being at last made sensible, that his Patron labours under the most general Unpopularity, both in Town and Country, enters very gravely into his Defence, upon this Head, and imputes it all to his transcendent Merit, the Malice of his Enemies, and the Delusion of their Followers; who are computed to be at least 99 in 100 throughout the whole united Kingdom.

He defies us to produce one Instance of a Man, who will or can say, that he hath apply'd to his Patron, and been ill treated by him. If he means personal Applications, as I suppose he does, it would be very extraordinary for any Minister to treat those, who attend his Levee, with *Billingsgate* Language, or to kick them out of Doors.—But the *Gazetteer* being sensible that his Patron had spoken of the Merchants of London in a very rude and contumelious Manner, by calling them *Sturdy Beggars*, in one of the most august Assemblies in the World, he makes an awkward Attempt to vindicate him.

That the Words were not spoken, is so mean and prevaricating a Supposition, and so contrary to publick Notoriety, that it would be mere throwing away of Time to expose it; and it is as well known, that they were explicitly apply'd to a great Body of the most eminent Merchants of London, who were then attending in the Court of Requests, and soliciting their Cause against a flagitious Scheme, which

was calculated for their Destruction, (*viz.* the *Excise-Scheme*.)

Another Instance of his great Regard for the *trading Part of the Kingdom*, was his employing a Crew of *Miscreants* for several Years, to justify the *Spanish Depredations*, and lay the whole Blame of our late Misunderstandings with *that Court* upon the most *useful Members of the Commonwealth*, who were then very candidly styled *Pirates, Buccaneers, and Sea Robbers*; till at length the repeated Infruits of the *Spaniards*, and the universal Cries of the People for Justice, induced his Majesty, out of his paternal Goodness, to listen to their Complaints, and resolve upon more vigorous Measures.—But did the *Hon. Gentleman* readily and cheerfully concur in this just Measure, till he was forced into it by an *Authority*, which he durst not withstand? Did he not afterwards ridicule it, and call it, with a Sneer, the *Ct—r's War*? Did not his *Mercenaries* accordingly endeavour to throw cold Water upon it, by foreboding terrible Consequences, and imputing them beforehand to the revengeful Spirit of the *Faction*, as they are pleased to call the much greatest and best Part of the Kingdom.

Did he not pay a very fine Compliment to the *whole Common Council of the City of London*, by ordering a List of their *Names*, and a burlesque Account of their *respective Trades*, in opposite Columns, to be printed, and dispersed thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, in order to represent them, as a Body of *mean and insignificant Mechanics*? (See our *Magazine* for 1739, p. 136.)

These Instances, to which I could easily add many more, are sufficient to shew his *Honour's* good Nature, good Manners, and tender Regard for the *worthy, industrious, and useful Members of the City of London*, as they are now ironically call'd; for I cannot conceive that any Man, who hath heap'd so many Indignities upon them, should all on a sudden take *Shame to himself*, and draw so just a Picture of them in Earnest.—But let us proceed from *Compliments to Facts*.

The *Gazetteer* assures us, that he could produce several Instances of his *Patron's* peculiar Regard to the *Trade and Navigation* of his Country; but, for Brevity's Sake, he shall confine his Observations, for the present, to two only of a late Date. Now it happens very unluckily for him, that *both these Instances*, which he has pick'd out as the strongest, are false in Fact.—The *first* is thus stated by him:

'During the last Session of Parliament, a Scheme was proposed and warmly supported for registering *Seafaring Men*; by Means of which, if it had been executed, an ambitious Minister might have laid such a Foundation of Power, as would have set him above the Reach of the Envious and Seditious. But, far from laying hold of the

'*impetuous Warmth for War*, which then appear'd in the whole People, by Means of which they might have been wrought upon as dangerously, with Regard to Liberty, as at the Restoration of K. Charles II. when the Nation was zealously and loyally mad; I say, far from improving the Opportunity thrown in his Way, by *that Scheme*, and the then Humour of the People, he used all his Interest and Eloquence to turn the *whole Scheme* into another Shape, that could not possibly produce any Power destructive of Liberty.'

Would not any Body conclude from this Passage, that the *Gentlemen in the Country* interest contrived *this Scheme*, and proposed it to the House? So far from it, that the *Seafaring Part of the People* are obliged to *those Gentlemen* only for securing them from such a destructive Plan of *Slavery and Oppression*. The Case stands thus. The *Ministry* form'd *this Scheme* amongst themselves, and brought it into the House. When it was read there, the *Country Members* found it big with so many pernicious Consequences, that they opposed it with the utmost Vigour, as a *Scheme of Power*, which would inevitably debase our brave *Seamen* into a Sort of *Gally-slaves*, who were to be chain'd down for Life, like our poor *Land Forces*, and obliged to obey the first Summons, in whatever Circumstances their own Industry, or good Fortune might happen to place them.—The *Country Gentlemen*, I say, opposed this tyrannical Project; and they did it with Effect. At the same Time, they declared their Readiness to concur in a *voluntary Register*, or any other Measure, for manning the *Royal Navy*, consistent with common Equity, the Liberties of the People, and the fundamental Laws of our Constitution. But they were determined not to give their Consent to any Law, which was visibly calculated to rivet Fetters on the most useful Body of their fellow Subjects, who complain'd of it in the strongest Terms, and were preparing to send up Petitions against it from all Parts of the Kingdom. The *Projector* seeing this, attempted several Expedients and Modifications, to make *his Scheme* pass down in some Shape or other; but the Clamour without Doors, and the Opposition within, increasing every Day, he was obliged at last to give it intirely up, and left the Odium of it upon his Friends in the *Admiralty*. (See p. 221.)

This is a true State of the Case; and now let the Reader judge whether the *Publick*, or the *Minister*, are most obliged to *this Writer*, for endeavouring so grossly to impose upon *me*, and so wretchedly defending the *other*.

He is equally unhappy in the other Instance, which he produces of his *Patron's* peculiar Regard for the *Trade and Navigation* of his Country, as will presently appear.

'The

'The other Instance, says he, is a Clause in an Act of Parliament, chiefly, if not solely owing to his (the Minister's) Influence, and Regard for his *Seafaring fellows* Subjects in general. The Act I mean, was that pass'd the 8th of his present Majesty, for Application of the Rents and Profits of the Estates forfeited by the late Earl of Derwentwater. As the great and just Encouragement intended, by that Law, for our *Seafaring Men*, may not be known to most of those useful and necessary Subjects, I shall for their Benefit insert an Abstract of the Clause.

'That in Case any Seaman on board any Merchant-ship, belonging to the Subjects of his Majesty, shall be maim'd in Fight against any Enemy, every such Seaman shall be admitted into, and provided for in Greenwich Hospital, in like Manner as any Seaman wounded or disabled in the Service of his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.'

Here again, is it not very natural to suppose, that the Hon. Patron of the Gazetteers was the first Mover and chief Promoter of that Act? But this is as false a State of the Fact as the other, and what follows is the true one. It being under the Consideration of Parliament how to supply the Deficiencies for defraying the Expences of Greenwich-Hospital, and many Difficulties arising upon it, an Hon. Gentleman (but not the Minister) rose up, and said, that he could not see any Reason for giving themselves so much Trouble about the Fund required, since they had one already in their Hands. He then mention'd my Lord Derwentwater's Estate; which, as he apprehended, could not be more properly apply'd than to this Use. But lest there might be some dormant Claims to those Estates, either of Right, or founded on Compassion, he did not propose to make it then a perpetual Fund, but only temporary, till it should appear whether any such Claims would be made, or allow'd. As to Seamen, wounded or disabled in the Merchant Service, they have long had an equitable Right to the Benefit of the Hospital, which is chiefly supported by the Six penny Duty upon the Tonnage of Shipping employed in the Merchant Service; and that truly worthy Patriot, Sir John Barnard, hath often complain'd that they were not admitted into it.

I must therefore once more appeal to the Publick, what Credit ought to be given to a Scribbler, who falsifies Facts in such a bare-faced Manner?

But let me ask both the Patron and his Advocate, what would have become of my Lord Derwentwater's Estate, if a villainous Fraud in the Sale of it had not been seasonably detected, which gave the Parliament just Cause to resume it for the Use of the Pub-

lick *? And, as a noble Duke then observed, one House had done but half their Duty, by resuming the Estate, without inflicting some exemplary Punishment upon those, who were concern'd in that detestable Fraud.

These are the two glorious Instances, which the Gazetteer hath produced of his Patron's peculiar Regard for the Trade and Navigation of his Country. If he had not already spun out his Paper to a greater Length than he intended, as he assures us, we should have been obliged with several more of the same Kind; amongst which, no doubt, he would not have forgot the famous Act for regulating the Government of the City of London, the Pot-Act, the several Acts for excising Brandy, Rum, Arrack, Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, with the late ever-memorable Scheme for introducing a general Excise, in order to prevent Frauds in the Customs.

To these might be added a long Catalogue of the many wholesome and necessary Bills and Motions, which have been brought in, or proposed, on the Country Side, and rejected by the Court Faction, during his most auspicious Administration. I shall instance only a few.

1. Several Motions to reduce the great Number of our standing Army, in Times of the most profound Peace, in Pursuance of repeated Assurances from the Throne, that the Burden of it should be lessened, as soon and as fast as the Circumstances of Affairs would admit of it.

2. Their unwearied Endeavours, to reduce the national Debt, and redeem the most burdensome of our Taxes, by a strict Application of the Sinking Fund to the Uses, for which it was originally constituted; particularly a well-timed and well-concerted Scheme for reducing our national Debt to 3 per Cent. for which that worthy Patriot, who was the Author of it, deserves immortal Honour.

3. A Motion for appointing a select Committee to enquire into the Frauds of the Customs; which was the only pretended Reason for excising Wine and Tobacco; and when those Gentlemen, who were charged with encouraging Frauds, by opposing that destructive Scheme, moved for a strict Enquiry into them, the Motion was rejected by a very extraordinary Method of conducting Parliamentary Affairs.—Let the Records of the Cock-pit, to which I refer, explain the rest.

4. An Enquiry into the Management of the S. S. Company, by which several important Discoveries would have been made, had not the proper Examinations been eluded.

5. Another Enquiry into the Management of the Charitable Corporation, by which a complicated Scene of Villainy was discover'd, and the unhappy Sufferers had all the Relief, which

* See the Speaker's Reprimand to Sir John Eyles in our MAGAZINE for 1732, p. 98. And his Thanks to the Lord Viscount Gage, *ibid.* p. 115.

which it was in the Power of *their Advocates* to procure for them.

6. A Bill for the better *Qualifications of Members, who sit in the House of Commons*; which was thrown out, after a very unusual Manner, upon the *third Reading*, though no Opposition was before made to any Part of it.

7. A Bill for securing the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament, by reducing and limiting the exorbitant Number of Placemen in the House of Commons*.—But notwithstanding the ill Success of their laudable Endeavours, last Year, to obtain this equitable Security; the general Voice of the *People*, and the *vigorous Instructions*, which have been already given by several of the most considerable Counties, and Corporations, to their Representatives, leave us no Room to doubt, that the *Gentlemen in the Country Interest* will attempt it again, with a Zeal worthy of the Occasion; and I doubt not with Effect, if not without Opposition, in *one House*; considering the near Approach of *Elections*; and we hope it will not be thrown out by the *other*, who are not in the least affected by it.

These are some of the salutary Laws, which the *Gentlemen in the Country Interest* had the Honour to propose, but were defeated in their good Intentions, by the prevailing Influence of the *Minister* and his *Creatures*. Yet the *Country Gentlemen* have not been altogether unsuccessful in their Endeavours to preserve our excellent Constitution; particularly by opposing and throwing out those two execrable Plans of arbitrary Power, the *Excise-Bill*, and the *Register-Bill* before-mentioned. They have likewise had the good Fortune to succeed in passing several Laws of very great Emolument and Utility to the Publick, if they are regularly put in Execution, which is the Business and Duty of the *civil Magistrate*. I mean, amongst others, the Act for the more effectual preventing of Bribery and Corruption in the *Election of Members to serve in Parliament*; the Act for preventing the infamous Practice of *Stock-jobbing*, which hath executed itself; and the Act before-mentioned, for appropriating the late Earl of *Derwentwater's* Estate to the Maintenance of *Greenwich-Hospital*, and extending the Charity of it to *Seamen maim'd in the Merchants Service*. The Merit of these beneficial Laws properly belongs to *those Gentlemen*, who have opposed most of our late *Treaties, Conventions*, and other temporary *Expedients* for settling Affairs abroad; as well as *Votes of Credit*, the *Revival of the Salt-Duty*, the *Smuggling Act*, which includes all *Gentlemen*, who travel near the *Sea Coasts* with *two Servants arm'd*; the Act for licensing the *Stage*; and the Act against retailing *Spirituous Liquors*, in less than *two Gallons*; for which the Nation is engaged to pay 70,000*l.* a Year to the *Civil List*.—I am very sensible, that many well-meaning

Gentlemen were induced to vote for *this Act*, as a sovereign Preservative of the Health and Lives of the common People. But Time and Experience sufficiently shew us, that *this Law* hath had no more Effect than the famous *Pot-Act*; that is, laying an additional Burden upon the *People*, by increasing the *Civil List*.—The whole Credit of *these Acts*, and several others of the same Nature, is justly due to the *Gazetteer's Patron*.

He then proceeds to enquire into the present State of Affairs, both abroad and at home, and concludes thus:

Upon the Whole, our present Misfortunes are manifest to every Man, who is not really blind, or does not wilfully shut his Eyes against the Light. We have already been put to an Expence of 4 or 5 Millions, which hath been so far from doing us any Service, (*Admiral Vernon's* glorious Atchievements only excepted) that it hath brought us to the Brink of a War with *France*, as well as *Spain*; the Consequences of which God only can foresee. However it is certain, that there must have been a Fault somewhere or other. Whether it is owing to Want of timely Provisions, or proper Orders and Instructions to our *Admirals*, or lastly to their insisting upon more *Ships* and *Pageantry* than was necessary for the Service; it is not my Business, and perhaps may not be altogether safe for me to determine. But Time will soon discover the Truth, and I can only wish, that the Saddle may be laid upon the right Horse.

By whatever Means it came to pass, we are evidently in such a Situation as would puzzle the wisest, the most upright, and the most popular Ministers to rectify. But we may very modestly venture to foretel that *those*, who have bewilder'd us in such a Labyrinth of Difficulties, will never be able to extricate us out of it. They have been unsuccessful, at least, in all their Endeavours for many Years past; and good Fortune was held in such Estimation amongst the *Romans*, that several of their most renown'd Generals and Emperors assumed the Title of *Felix* and *Fortunatus*. Nor was this a superstitious Notion only, but founded on Reason and Experience; for when a General hath gain'd two or three signal Victories, it is natural for an Army to conceive such a high Opinion of his Courage and Conduct, that they will follow him cheerfully wherever he leads them, under a full Persuasion of Conquest and Glory. We have a remarkable Instance of this, in the Life of *Marshal Turenne*. It is to be observed, that the *Marshal*, in the Day of Battle, commonly rode upon a py'd Horse; and the Enemy having gain'd some Advantage over that Part of his Army, where he was not present himself, the Soldiers having an implicit Confidence in his good Fortune, cry'd out *læbez le Pir*, let loose the py'd

py'd Horse, and he'll lead us to Victory. The same may be said of the late immortal Duke of Marlborough, of whom the Army had so high an Opinion, that they undertook the most difficult and hazardous Enterprizes, without being under the least Apprehensions of a Defeat, whilst old Corporal John was at the Head of them. We have another recent Example of the Truth of this Observation, in the Conduct and Success of Admiral Vernon. —The Reader will of course apply these Remarks upon military Commanders to Pilots of State.

There are two Things absolutely necessary to make a fortunate Minister. One of them is, to gain the Confidence and good Wishes of the People at home; and the other, to procure the best Intelligence of Affairs abroad. Without these two Requisites, it will be in vain for a Minister to make use of little temporary Expedients, or for the People to expect that any Thing will prosper under such an ill-fated Administration.

Common Sense, Oct. 4. N^o 191.

The African Slave Trade defended: And CORRUPTION the worst of Slaveries.

S I R,

THE Guinea Trade, by the Mistake of some, or Misrepresentation of others, hath been charged with Inhumanity, and a Contradiction to good Morals.—Such a Charge at a Time when private and publick Morals are laugh'd at, as the biggest Folly, by a powerful Faction; and Self-interest set up as the only Criterion of true Wisdom, is certainly very uncourtly: But yet as I have a profound Regard for those superannuated Virtues; you will give me Leave to justify the African Trade, upon those stale Principles, from the Imputations of Mercator Honestus; and shew him that there are People in some boasted Regions of Liberty, under a more wretched Slavery, than the Africans transplanted to our American Colonies.

The Inhabitants of Guinea are indeed in a most deplorable State of Slavery, under the arbitrary Power of their Princes both as to Life and Property. In the several Subordinations to them, every great Man is absolute Lord of his immediate Dependents. And lower still; every Master of a Family is Proprietor of his Wives, Children, and Servants; and may at his Pleasure consign them to Death, or a better Market. No doubt, such a State is contrary to Nature and Reason; since every human Creature hath an absolute Right to Liberty. But are not all arbitrary Governments, as well in Europe, as Africa, equally repugnant to that great Law of Nature? And yet it is not in our Power to cure the universal Evil, and set all the

Kingdoms of the Earth free from the Domination of Tyrants, whose long Possession, supported by standing Armies, and flagitious Ministers, renders the Thralldom without Remedy, while the People under it are by Custom satisfied with, or at least quiet under Bondage.

A All that can be done in such a Case is, to communicate as much Liberty, and Happiness, as such Circumstances will admit, and the People will consent to: And this is certainly done by the Guinea Trade. For, by purchasing, or rather ransoming the Negroes from their national Tyrants, and transplanting them under the benign Influences of the Law, and Gospel, they are advanced to much greater Degrees of Felicity, tho' not to absolute Liberty.

B That this is truly the Case cannot be doubted by any one acquainted with the Constitution of our Colonies, where the Negroes are governed by Laws, and suffer much less Punishment in Proportion to their Crimes, than the People in other Countries more refined in the Arts of Wickedness; and where Capital Punishment is inflicted only by the Civil Magistrate.

C If Mercator Honestus be the Man described by his Name, it is hard to guess on what Grounds he could imagine the Africans more innocent in their own Country, than in our American Colonies. Can Innocence result more naturally from Ignorance, than true Knowledge? That seems an extravagant Compliment to Ignorance, at the Expence of the glorious Light of the Gospel, and the Morals of our American fellow Subjects. Invincible Ignorance is indeed so far innocent, that it cannot incur the divine Displeasure; but neither can it merit the divine Approbation, and Favour. But, Sir, is it possible for any Man in his Senses to believe, that human Nature sunk into the lowest Abyss of Ignorance, and prostrated in the vilest Idolatry of Snakes, and Images of Rags, and Clay (as the Africans are) is a State of more Innocence, than what must necessarily result in general, from the Example of the Worshipers of the true God, according to the Dictates of natural Reason, uncorrupted by Courts, and enlightened both by Education, and Revelation? He that can believe such a Proposition, may well doubt the most authentick History of the Blacks in Africa; or that among the most free People of the World, there are a Multitude of Slaves to Corruption.

E Perhaps my Antagonist calls the Negroes Allowance of a Pint of Corn and an Herring, penurious, in Comparison of the full Meals of Gluttony: But if not, let him compare that Allowance, to what the poor Labourer can purchase for Ten pence per Day, to subsist himself and Family, and he will easily determine the Americans Advantage.

X x x Why

Why need we descend to the lowest Order of Men? Let us compare the supposed Allowance, scanty as it is, to the *Feathers, Ribbons, &c.* for which the *Slaves of M—l Power* drudge thro' the *Dirt of Corruption*, and then determine whose Wages is best. But this is not all: Let the Comparison be continued, and the *American Negro* considered as possessing, besides the Allowance before-mentioned (which is generally the Case) his little Plantation, fertile of the most nutritious Roots, Plants, Herbs and Pulse, secure in the Fruits of his Labour; and enjoying enough for Use, and to spare, without being under any Influence to violate the *Dictates of Conscience*: How much happier is he than the *M—l Vassal*, quartered upon by Vermin like himself, and (like Insects in a Microscope) overwhelm'd with Animals of a less Size indeed, but not less voracious; and all of them subject to the *Crush of a domineering Master!*

Nevertheless, *Mercator* will say, the *Negroes* are *Slaves* to their Proprietors: How *Slaves*? *Nominally*: Not really so much *Slaves* as the *Peasantry* of all Nations is to *Necessity*; not so much as those of *Corruption*, or *Party Zeal*; not in any Sense, such abject *Slaves*, as every vicious Man is to his own Appetites. Indeed there is this Difference between *Britons*, and the *Slaves* of all other Nations; that the latter are so by Birth, or tyrannical Necessity; the former can never be so, but by a *wicked Choice*, or *execrable Venality*.

However commendable therefore my Brother Merchant's Zeal may be in diffusing the Blessings of Liberty to the utmost Corners of the Earth, even to our remotest Kindred the *Africans*, yet in the present State of Things it seems more in the Power, and certainly is more the Duty of every honest *Briton*, to secure the Blessing at home, by exerting all his Might against the *secret*, and more *effectual Attacks of Corruption*, spreading like a Pestilence over the whole Nation; and to inspire, if possible, the *Blacks of his own Country* with more candid Sentiments of publick Good,—the Benefits of Commerce, and the Blessings of Liberty: Or otherwise, perhaps, our *aspiring Neighbours* may purchase *Slaves* in Great Britain at a cheaper Rate than they now do in *Africa*.

Craftsman, Oct. 11. N^o 745.

Of GOVERNMENT, the POWER of the People, &c.

HISTORIES, which are but Tracts of different Governments, are fill'd with the Schemes and Actions of *some Men*, how to extend their Power; and with the Defence, which others have made against them.—How ineffectual the Struggles of the *last* have proved, is visible from the small Number of *Monarchies*, in which the *People* have had

Wisdom enough to keep up even the Form of sharing in the Government.

These Turns of State would still appear more wonderful, were we to compute how few there are, that share the Plunder, and how many are plunder'd. Let us look round, and behold what Numbers of People in *Europe* are govern'd by the absolute Wills of about a Score of Creatures, the very same Species with themselves.—It is enough to bewilder the Imagination, and make the Head giddy, to think how these Things should come to pass.

Were we speculatively to reason upon *State Affairs*, we might justly conclude, that the Destruction of *one State* would be sufficient to warn the rest of the World: But the very Reverse is the Case; and tho' *absolute Government* is seen ravaging from State to State, so debased is the Nature of Man, that, instead of having these wicked Practices of *Statesmen* in the utmost Abhorrence, the Numbers of Offences sanctify the Guilt, as if *Ministers* might justify their Arts, by Precedents, and plead Prescription for Treachery.

How often do we see this verily'd in our daily Conversation? When some Deed, too gross to take a Varnish, is in hand, how common is it to hear a *ministerial Patriot*, with Shrugs and sententious Nods, confess that he wishes it had been otherwise? But *Ministers* always did, and he fears always will, do such Things; and for his Part, he never expects to see it better; so hastens away, to support the Wickedness of the Day, because *Ministers* have been always wicked.

Another Principle of Politicks, which these *Friends to Liberty* have imbib'd, is, that Power ought not to be given to the *People*; nay, so dangerous may be the Effects of *popular Power*, that even the *Representatives of the People* ought to be attracted, by *Places* and *Gratuities*, into a State of Dependence upon the Crown.

The first Observation I shall make upon this salutary Maxim of State is, that it was never utter'd by any Man, who was not more than suspected of being himself corrupt. But as it is the chief Argument, that has been set up against Freedom and Independency in the *elected Senate*, I think it cannot be too often exposed; nor do I think an *Englishman* can spend his Time better, at this Juncture, than to enquire into the Nature of Power, and impartially consider in whose Hands it may prove most dangerous, and where, in all human Probability, it may be most effectually placed for the Security of Liberty.

As to the first Point, I can name many States, (for I can scarce go amiss if I name any) where the governing and ministerial Part have by Force, or Fraud, at some Time or other, overturn'd the Liberties of the *People*, and set up absolute Dominion.

But

But as to the *second Point*, I think it will be very difficult to shew where *Liberty*, and *Ple- nitude of Power in the People*, have encouraged them to disturb the Peace of their Country.

This Charge cannot be good against the *United Provinces*; for it was *Oppression*, which made them revolt. If we look at home, I hope, without being thought to justify the *grand Rebellion*, I may say, that the Exaction of *Skip-money*, the Proceedings of the *Star- chamber*, and the Imprisonment of *Members*, are very evident Proofs that it was not an Overflow of *Liberty*, or too great a Power in the *People*, that excited them to rebel.

Rome was the greatest State we read of; and I believe we shall find, upon the most exact Scrutiny, that every popular Commotion was preceded by some Act of Oppression from the *Senate*, and that the *Power of the People* was always obstructed in its legal Operation, before they appeal'd to Arms. It was therefore the *Spirit of Liberty* to regain their Power, not a *Wantonness of Power in the People*, that occasion'd those Insurrections.

This was likewise the Case of the late Revolution in England. K. James usurp'd the *Power of the People*, and invaded their *Liberties*, which made it necessary for them to apply to *foreign Assistance*; and this Necessity proves, that it was not the *Power of the People*, which brought about that happy Event; for had it been the *Power of the People*, it would have operated sooner, and prevented K. James from carrying on his injurious Proceedings, which not having Power enough to do, rather than acquiesce under them, they chose to submit their Lives and Fortunes to the uncertain Chance of War.

It was therefore a *Want of Power in the People*, which made the Revolution necessary, not a *Fulness of their Power*, which accomplish'd it. It was the Act of a *distress'd People*, not a *free People*; for surely a State cannot be *free*, if the *People* have not the Means of making themselves so, without committing Hostilities. *Liberty*, therefore, cannot be established by the Grace, and Promises of a Prince; nor upon any Power lodged in the *Crown*. On the contrary, Experience, as well as Reason, shews, that *Liberty* can never be secured without lodging a Power in the *People* sufficient, in Time of Need, to restrain, and limit the Acts of the *Crown*.

This Power must be *free*, *independent*, and *incorrupt*; not subject, by any Force or Fraud, to be withdrawn from the Service and Protection of those, for whom it was form'd.

Perhaps it may be said, that such a State of Perfection is not to be arrived at by human Creatures; which I am afraid is too true. However, our abundant Wickedness may be a very good Argument for having stronger Checks put upon one another; but can be no Reason for feeding us with Temp-

tations; and consequently the nearer Perfection such a Power arrives at, the greater is the Security it gives; and the farther it is removed from such a State of Purity, the more in Danger are those Rights, which it is intended to protect.

For this Power did our Ancestors fight; and for the Establishment of it, was the Revolution effected; not a Right only to assert our *Liberty*, (for that the *Law of Nature* gives to all Mankind) but a Means to secure it, which the *People of England* are in Possession of; and this Power, by the Constitution, is lodged with their *Delegates*, by whom alone they can act. These *Delegates* have no Restraint upon their Debates, by any other Power, or upon their Determinations, form'd from those Debates. Till it is, therefore, shewn, that Treachery may not prejudice as much as Violence, it must be concluded, that the *People of England* have as much Right to the Integrity of the Minds of their Representatives, as to the Freedom of their Persons.

To preserve this Right from Dangers, which seem to threaten it, the most considerable Part of the Nation have thought it expedient to instruct their Representatives, how to behave upon this Occasion.—The additional Security to their Liberties, (viz. a well regulated *Place-Bill*) which they so ardently desire, is a Subject, on which much might be said: But, after all, the highest Encomium, that can be given, is to say, that it is founded on Reason, Justice, and the most apparent Necessity.

I cannot give the Reader a stronger, or more shameless Instance of this; than a printed Paper, which hath been lately dispersed amongst the Electors of *Chippenham* in *Wills*, to the following Effect.

“Gentlemen, Is it not very mean and base to threaten you with the terrible Consequences of the *self-denying Oath*

Against Bribery and Corruption.

By Persons, who are making use of the same Arts to delude you, tho' not with Substance, but with Shadow?”

My Lads,

One Bird in Hand is worth two in the Bush.”

Common Sense, Oct. 11. N^o 192.

Of the REPEAL of the Act for Triennial PARLIAMENTS.

I HAVE now before me a Pamphlet written and publish'd a little before the Bill for repealing the Triennial Act was brought into Parliament. It is in Favour of the Repeal, and was published, as I have been informed, by the particular Order of the then Ministers: They judg'd, that it would be necessary to prepare and soften the Minds of the People,

X x x 2

People, "in order to make them easy under a Measure which, I presume, was very little expected."

The Writer begins by laying it down as a Maxim, "That the Parliament hath a Power of suspending Laws, as well as of making and repealing Laws;" which, I suppose, No-body disputed with him. He proceeds afterwards to assure us, "That this Power of suspending any good Law will never be made use of by Parliament, but in Cases of the utmost Necessity;" which (begging his Pardon) is a very bold Assertion, and, which neither he, nor those that employ'd him, will ever be able to make the World believe, unless they can first demonstrate, that it is impossible a Parliament should ever be corrupted.

When he comes to speak in particular of this Law for holding triennial Parliaments, he allows, indeed, that it was a Bill essential to the Liberties of the People; and he tells us, that the chief Objection made to it by those who opposed it, when it was first brought into Parliament, was, "That by so quick a Return of Elections, Factions, Heats, and Animosities would be kept alive in the Country; but (says he) this Objection had but little Weight, the Legislature fell in with the Desires of the People, and judg'd it better to bear that small Inconveniency, than to strike at the Foundation of so essential a Pillar of the Peoples Liberties."

If a Parliament was to last so long, as to give the Ministers Time and Opportunity of practising upon it, and corrupting it, that Pillar of the Peoples Liberties would certainly stand upon a very precarious Foundation.

To do the Writer Justice, he grants enough in Conscience in Favour of the Bill: We shall now come to his Reasons for suspending it.

"There may be a Time, however, (says he) when the publick Affairs may be so circumstanced, that it may be necessary, even for the Good of the People themselves, to suspend the Execution of such a Law as this for a Season." And again, a little lower, "We are now to enquire, whether there may not be some Necessity to break in upon some of our own Privileges for a Season, to prevent the Enemies breaking in upon the Constitution."

The Nature of this Danger, which he here hints at, is explain'd a little after.

"That there had been a dangerous and open Rebellion lately in the Nation, which was not yet extinguish'd; and that probably it might not be quite extinguish'd before the Time of electing a new Representative must come on, according to the Limitation of the Bill for holding triennial Parliaments; that it might prove fatal to have the People meet at

so dangerous and critical a Juncture, when the Disaffected might take Advantage of it to increase or renew the Rebellion."

All this appears very plausible, and to shew how fair a Reasoner he is, he undertakes to answer all the Objections, that may be made against suspending the Law at this Time, the most material of which (he says) was,

A "That it would be difficult to prevail upon a Ministry hereafter to advise the Prince to consent to the restoring a Law which tied up their Hands, and disabled them from practising upon the Representatives of the People, and rendering Parliaments subservient to their Designs."—Which he answers thus:

B "These Objections are effectually answer'd by stating the Difference betwixt suspending the Force of a Law, for a certain limited Time only, and the absolute repealing such a Law. Nor is there any Occasion to say a Word more in Relation to it, only to let the World know, that not one Word in this Tract is to be understood as an absolute Repeal, but a temporary Suspension only of this Law, the Limitation to expire at a certain Time, and the Law then to return to its full Force, unless those Limitations should be farther extended by the same Authority, and upon the same Necessity, of which Necessity the Parliament is to be always the Judge."

C The Reader will perceive, that the People, by this Pamphlet, are made to believe, that this Law was only to be suspended for a Time; that as soon as that dangerous Crisis should be past, which made its Suspension necessary, they were to be restored to their Privilege, of returning a new Representative every three Years.

This Pamphlet therefore was only a Kind of a ministerial Trick, calculated to impose upon the Electors, that being ignorant of the true State of the Case, their worthy Representatives might avoid being call'd upon and teas'd to oppose it. The Reasonings in it, I suppose, were made use of only without Doors; I don't doubt but Arguments of quite another Nature were made use of within.

F Be that as it will, it is now 25 Years since this Alteration was made in the Constitution of Parliaments; and tho' the like Necessity hath never happen'd at any Point of Time since, the Law stands repeal'd to this Day, and the People are very desirous to know what will be done in it the ensuing Session.

The present most obsequious Set of Placemen cannot but know how odious they are become to their Country. If they pretend that the Prejudice conceiv'd against them is ill-grounded and unjust, why will they not demonstrate to us, by some overt Act, that it is so? The unhappy Circumstances of their Country afford them ample Occasions of recommending themselves to its Favour. Let them do their Endeavours to restore us this Law

Law for triennial Parliaments; let them take the Lead, and be the first Movers for it; and if the Patriots oppose it, may the Odium fall upon them.

I presume no body will make use of that old thread-bare Objection again, that such frequent Elections will occasion Heats and Animositities, an Argument that may be used against any Elections, and God help us when those Heats and Animositities cease. They have ceas'd indeed in those miserable Boroughs that are subdued by Corruption; there all Elections are quiet: But they still subsist in the Counties and populous Cities, and may they always subsist.

While Rome enjoy'd its Liberties, there were continual Heats and Animositities in the Election of all their Magistrates; but when they fell into that shameful Servitude which they suffer'd under *Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, &c.* it must be confess'd, those Heats and Animositities were at an End, all was quiet, all was Obedience, and a *Sejanus* could name in his Closet who should be elected Consul, Prætor, Edile, &c. If our Placemen are not in a Scheme to reduce this Nation to the same State of Tranquillity, let us see it by their Behaviour.

Universal Spectator, Oct. 18. N° 628.

On Ladies consulting their Looking-Glasses, and admiring their own Charms.

Mr. Stonecastle,

IT has often been said, that nothing is so natural to the Fair Sex as to take a Pleasure in their own Beauty, and that they please themselves as much in contemplating it, as others receive by beholding it. There is without doubt much Truth in this Observation, and every pretty Woman gives every Day undoubted Demonstrations of it. I must observe farther, that they are the first who find out their own Charms, and fall in love with them: It is very early in Life that Girls begin to think they are pretty: Self-love takes Possession of their Heart, and never quits it afterwards: The Motions of this Self-love are so sweet and pleasing, that they are scarce sensible of its Flattery.

This Self-love in the Female Sex may be said to be rais'd only with a Desire of creating another different Passion, call'd *Love*; but that Passion is of another Nature, and when they feel that, it gives them as much Torment as Pleasure: The Cause comes not from themselves, but another external Cause, and arises from secret Sympathy, or the Violence of an amorous Impression.

I have frequently heard a nice Question put, whether the Generality of the Sex would chuse rather to lose the Men they love, or their Beauty. Much, as *Sir Roger de Coverly* observ'd, may be said on both Sides; but

they who think a Woman would prefer her Beauty to her Lover, may urge many strong Reasons to vindicate her Conduct; and, to confess truly, I should think her in the Right: Tho' she lost her Lover, her Beauty would gain her others; if she lost her Beauty, I am afraid she would lose also the Lover she thought she had gain'd.

Tho' the Contemplation of Women in their Glasses gives them at one Time of Life such pleasing Reflections, yet what painful Ideas do they entertain when they too sensibly perceive the Decay of their natural Charms, and are oblig'd to have Recourse to Art to keep up the Credit of their Beauty! It is with them then as it is with breaking Tradesmen, they make a Glitter and out-side Shew to deceive the World, but sit with as much Pain at their Toilette as the Dealer in his Compting-House. To end the Allusion, the Arts of both are in vain; for the World must soon know the one is bankrupted, and the other old.

Tho' I would not compare the Females of Great Britain to a Courtesan of Greece in Point of Character; yet, as to the natural Opinion of the Sex, I believe they will excuse me if I say, that when old they beheld themselves in their Glasses, they would be almost induced to break them.

In such Cases, the best Remedy would be to employ all their Discretion to make themselves easy: But, alas! what an uncomfortable Remedy is it for a Woman, who when young has been ador'd, to abandon so dear a Vanity and have Recourse to Reason! It is a new Experiment, and a mortifying one, after a Person has been used to entertain herself with the most agreeable Thoughts. The last Tears that beautiful Eyes reserve, are spent in bewailing their own Inefficacy.

Notwithstanding I am of Opinion that Women take too much and too indiscreet Pleasure in their Beauty, yet I am not for banishing them from their Dressing-glasses, or any Room where Glasses are Part of its Furniture: All I would inculcate is, that they would not spend too much Time at their Glasses, or lay too much Dependence on their Beauty. They have other Charms as engaging, and more durable: Prudence and Virtue are Beauties which never can decay, which make Youth appear amiable, and Age honourable. In these only I hope your fair Readers will place their Confidence.

Common Sense, Oct. 18. N° 193.

After taking Notice of the Importance of Trade to this Nation, and the Neglect that has been shewn to it for several Years, this Writer proceeds to hint at some Things that may be done its Favour, as follows.

IT is well known that we annually send into the Baltick near 300,000*l.* in Money for

for Iron, which we might be supplied with from our *American Colonies*; and sure, we ought to take from our own Colonies whatever they can supply us with, because they take our Commodities in Return; or even if they did not, whatever they get ultimately centers here in the Mother Kingdom.

The great Sums annually exported for *French Wines*, seem to be an Object of Attention. My Countrymen of nice and distinguishing Palates will therefore, I hope, forgive me, when I say that the Nation pays too dear for the Gratification of their delicate Tastes, and that it would be highly reasonable to reduce them to get drunk in Liquors less expensive and detrimental to the Publick.

All *French Stuffs* are, indeed, prohibited by Law; but they are allowed, and almost authorized by Practice: Seizures are commonly returned by Commutation with the inferior Custom-House Officers; or politely restored by their Superiors, to the Persons of great Rank for whose Use they are imported. Some more effectual Law to prevent this Mischief might easily be devised, or the publick Discouragement of the Court would be still more effectual than a Law. I would desire no more than an Order of the Chamberlain's, strictly forbidding all his Majesty's natural born Subjects to appear before him, in foreign Manufactures.

The Duty upon *Flanders Lace* is so very inconsiderable, that it is an Encouragement to the Importation; at least those who are silly enough to lay out their Money in those expensive Cobwebs, will not be restrained by such a Trifle. But why any Duty at all, why not a total Prohibition? Since it is well known, that in the *West of England*, we make that foolish Commodity as well and as fine, as they can make it abroad. Cambricks too, will soon come within this Case; since, by the Application and publick Spirit of a noble Viscount, who in this as in every Thing else deserves the Thanks and Esteem of his Country, a Manufacture of Cambrick is now established in a neighbouring Kingdom, and is already, by his Care, in so flourishing a Condition, as to be soon able to supply us with that Commodity.

Let it not be objected, that if we prohibit the Importation of the Manufactures of other Nations, they will prohibit the Importation of ours, and we may happen to be Losers by the Bargain. In the first Place, we import more Commodities than we now export; in the next Place, no wise Nation takes from another what they can be without; and what they cannot be without, they must take, prohibit what you please. As for the Fear of disobliging foreign Powers by these Prohibitions, where no Treaties of Commerce interfere, I hope we are not yet reduced so low, as not to dare to assert that natural Right,

which every little Power in *Europe* has asserted, of prohibiting Commodities, either unnecessary, or that prejudice their home Manufactures.

There is hardly a Ship that runs between *England and France*, or *England and Holland*, that does not make a Profit of five in a hundred and five, by bringing in Gold, and carrying out our Silver; inasmuch, that the current Money of *Calais*, *Bologne*, and all *Holland*, is for the most Part *English Silver Specie*, which evidently arises from the disproportion'd Value of our Gold to our Silver; as the Cause then is obvious, so is the Remedy; by the frequent Repetition of the Practice, it becomes a very considerable Object; but in the present unhappy Decline of our Trade, I will venture to say, that no Object is inconsiderable.

Our growing Manufactures of Linen, in *Scotland and Ireland*, surely deserve the tenderest Care, since the Advantage will be immense to these Nations, when they can, as with due Encouragement they soon may, be able to supply, not only all our Demands at home, but also furnish a sufficient Quantity for foreign Exportation. All Manufactures in their Infancy, require not only Care, but considerable Expence, to nurse them up to a State of Strength and Vigour. The original Undertakers and Proprietors are seldom able to lay down at once the necessary Sums, but are obliged to take Time, struggle with Difficulties, and enlarge their Bottoms by Degrees. This has checked the Growth of our *Irish and Scotch Manufactures*; whereas, if they had received in Time, proper Assistance from the Government, they would, like *Hercules*, have given Proofs of their Strength even in their Cradle; and would already have supplied all our Demands at home and abroad.

Some publick School or Establishment for Drawing, and Designing, would be of great Use. If our Neighbours the *French* excel us in any Thing, it is in their Design, and not in their Execution. And it is no Wonder they should surpass us, since there is at *Paris* a Royal Foundation established and maintained by the Care and Expence of the Crown, for Drawing and Designing, where Boys are generally sent two or three Years before they are put Apprentices to those Trades, where Invention and Drawing is useful. We have, indeed, a little Establishment of that Kind here in *St. Martin's Lane*; but which cannot be supposed to be in a very flourishing Condition, since it is only supported by the voluntary Contributions of some Tradesmen, without the least Help or Benefaction from any other Quarter; whereas a Royal Bounty of so small a Sum as two thousand Pounds a Year, would invite the best Designers from abroad.

I with these few imperfect Hints may be of any

any Use to the Publick, by awakening those who by their past Neglect, seem not to have known that there was such a Thing in this Kingdom as Trade, and Manufactures, unless by the Taxes with which they are burden'd.

THE Gazetteer of Oct. 3. concludes thus :

In publick Controversies it was *Solon's* Law, that every Man should take some Side : And indeed, Lukewarmness may sometimes answer the Ends of Moderation, but I am afraid the Days are at hand, when Moderation itself will be no longer esteem'd a Virtue. Sure I am, that so long as it can be thought for by any, who have a just Concern for their Country's Welfare, it will be maintain'd by all the Friends of this Administration, who, in Imitation of their Betters, are dispos'd to suffer all Things, rather than afford any just Ground for Censure, by acting with too much Heat in their own Defence.

The Conclusion of this Paper obliges me to tell you plainly, that Things are now at a Crisis. That what the Malecontents aim at is, such a Change in the Constitution, as will scarce leave it a Monarchy, and will necessarily induce other Changes. That you would do well to consider the Peace, the Freedom, the Security you have, as a Nation, enjoy'd under the present Reign, and under the present Administration. That you ought to be clear, as to the Advantages you are to reap from any Revolution, little or great, before you concur to bring it about. That the present is a ticklish Conjuncture, in which to try new Projects, new Ministers, or new Measures. That any Disturbances at home may prove fatal, while we are engaged in a War abroad : And, in fine, that tho' a sudden Struggle may be sufficient to create to a gentle publick-spirited Administration some Confusion, yet those who put on these Practices, if once they get into the Saddle, will provide against such Accidents, and make you feel in Reality those Ills, with the very Ideas of which they now disturb your Imaginations. You are almost on the Brink of the *Rubicon*, it behoves you therefore to take Care.

Common Sense, Oct. 25. No 194.

WHILE some Writers are praising the Integrity of our present most excellent M—— in the uncorrupt Application of the publick Treasure ; while others are extolling that masterly Address by which two Gentlemen have outwitted all *Europe*, and brought about so many glorious Treaties and Conventions ; be it my Province to celebrate their Conduct in the Management of the present War.

I must presume we have been in a State of War with *Spain* from May 24, 1739, that being the last Day limited by the Convention for the *Spaniards* to pay the 95,000 *l.* to reimburse our Merchants for about 500,000 *l.*

Losses sustain'd by Captures. We must suppose the War was resolv'd upon sooner, or we must suppose our M—— had no Intelligence, — a Thing we cannot suspect of such great Politicians.

Be that as it will, such Expedition was us'd in our Levies, that by *November* following, the Time our Parliament met, we were put into such a Condition to prosecute this Sea War, that our Land Army was augmented to 29,000 Men, exclusive of the Troops in *Ireland*, *Gibraltar*, *Port Mahon*, and *America*. The first Thing therefore propos'd was a farther Augmentation of 7000 Men more to our Land Army, under the Name of Marines.

The augmenting the standing Army at home before the Meeting of Parliament was a wise Measure, and was a very proper Use made of the Vote of Credit (I beg Pardon, I should call it Vote of Confidence) this Measure, I say, must have distress'd *Spain* prodigiously.

If any Body asks, why were not the Marines rais'd first, diverse and sundry Reasons may be given on the other Side of the Question. Had these Levies, made before the Meeting of Parliament, been call'd Marines, what Pretence could our excellent M—— have had for a farther Augmentation of our Army at home ? None that I can think of : And so the Nation might have had 10,000 Men less than it at present enjoys.

The Army was augmented before the Meeting of Parliament, those that did not like the Augmentation therefore, could not oppose it ; but we had no Marines, and every Body allow'd that Marines were absolutely necessary ; and let us rejoice, that those in the Opposition did not carry their Point in turning Part of our Land Forces into Marines.

I should have taken Notice, that before the Declaration of War ten Regiments were brought from *Ireland* into this Kingdom ; the World wondered to what Purpose, and perhaps many have not found it out to this Hour ; so much the better, it proves that the Projects of our M—— are out of the Reach of human Wisdom, they are beyond the Ken of the most discerning ; but since some of their Friends have own'd it, I will venture to discover what I have heard, that they were sent for hither in order to attack the *Spaniards* in *America*.

Let it therefore be an Instruction to Statesmen yet unborn, that whenever this Nation is at Variance with *Spain*, the most effectual Method to bring that proud Nation to Reason will be, to draw our Troops from *Ireland* into this Kingdom ; let them be quarter'd for some Time in the Country in order to season them to the Climate, then let them encamp in the Isle of *Wight*, after this, if they are ship'd off on an Expedition to *America*, they may in a few Weeks make *Ireland* again, in their

their Way to that Part of the World, unless they happen to be lock'd in the Channel by South-west Winds, which commonly blow in Autumn.

I will allow that nothing contributes towards Success in War, so much as Expedition; and Expedition we have used, but we used it according to the Acceptation of the Wife, not according to the Understanding of the Vulgar: We have used it according to that Maxim of the sage *Augustus*, *Festina lente*, which is as much as to say, *Make haste as slowly as ever you can*.

It is a Pain to observe what a contemptible Opinion the World entertains of the Abilities of our present M——; the Bulk of Mankind are prepared to condemn every Measure without waiting for the Event; it is that has made them censure the wise Conduct of not sending a Body of Land Forces with Admiral *Vernon's* Squadron: But the People are too short-sighted to see what Confusion that might

have caused. Did they know the present State of the *Spanish* Dominions in *America*, or were they acquainted with Admiral *Vernon's* Character, they would be convinced that this enterprizing rash Man, had he been so supplied, would have finish'd the War almost as soon as it begun, which must have kept us in the Dark with respect to some Things very material to be known. How could we have found out, for Example, how the other Powers of *Europe* were inclin'd to us? And particularly, how could we have known the Dispositions of *France*?

No Body can suppose that *France* would have declared while her whole Navy was out of Order, and she had not a Ship in a Condition to put to Sea: But these wise Delays have given *France* above a Year to put her Navy in Order, as well as to remove some little Jealousies betwixt her and the Court of *Spain*; so that now she begins to shew her Inclinations, which is a very important Discovery.

Poetical ESSAYS, 1740.

BALLY-SPELLING. By D—n S—t.

ALL you that wou'd refine your blood
As pure as fam'd *Llewellyn*,
By waters clear, come ev'ry year
And drink at *Bally-Spelling*.
If spots or itch your skins enrich
With rubies past the telling,
'Twill clear your skin before you've been
A month at *Bally-Spelling*.
If ladies cheek be green as leek
When she comes from her dwelling,
The kindling rose within it glows
When she's at *Bally-Spelling*.
The sooty brown who comes to town
Grows here as fair as *Helen*,
Then back she goes to kill the beaux
By dint of *Bally-Spelling*.
Our ladies are as fresh and fair,
As *Ros* or bright *Dunkelling*:
And *Mars* might make a fair mistake,
Were he at *Bally-Spelling*.
We men submit as they think fit,
And here is no rebelling;
The reason's plain, the ladies reign,
They're queens at *Bally-Spelling*.
By matchless charms unconquer'd arms,
They have the power of quelling
Such desperate foes as dare oppose
Their power at *Bally-Spelling*.
Cold water turns to fire and burns,
I know, because I fell in
A stream which came from one bright dame
Who drank at *Bally-Spelling*.
Fine beaux advance equipt for dance,
And bring their *Anne* or *Nell* in

With so much grace, I'm sure no place
Can vie with *Bally-Spelling*.
No politicks, no subtle tricks,
No man his country selling,
We eat, we drink, we never think
Of these at *Bally-Spelling*.
The troubled mind, the puffed with wind
Do all come here *Pell-mell* in;
And they are sure to work their cure
By drinking *Bally-Spelling*.
If dropsy fills you to the gills,
From chin to toe tho' swelling,
Pour in pour out, you cannot doubt
A cure at *Bally-Spelling*.
Death throws no darts thro' all these parts,
No sextons here are knelling;
Come judge and try, you'll never die,
And live at *Bally-Spelling*:
Except you feel darts tipt with steel
Which here are every belle in;
When from their eyes sweet ruin flies,
We die at *Bally-Spelling*.
Good chear, sweet air, much joy, no care,
Your sight, your taste, your smelling,
Your ears, your touch transporteth much
Each day at *Bally-Spelling*.
Within this ground we all sleep sound,
No noisy dogs a yelling;
Except you wake for *Cælia's* sake
All night at *Bally-Spelling*.
Here all you see, both he and she,
No lady keeps her cell in;
But all partake the mirth we make
Who drink at *Bally-Spelling*.
My rhimes are gone, I think I've none,
Unless I should bring hell in;
But since I'm here to heav'n so near,
I can't at *Bally-Spelling*.

On an antiquated Edinburgh BEAUTY.
HORACE, Ode 13. Book IV. Imitated.

JENNY, the gods have heard my pray'r,
(Thus joyful *Strephon* sung)
Tho' robb'd of every youthful air,
You still would fain be young.

Thy vain, affected airs no more
Are warm'd by youth's gay rays,
Since age has ravish'd beauty's power,
Alas! they but displease.

In vain you smile, you toy, you play,
Soft *Cupid* to engage;
He joys to sport in gentle *May*,
And loaths *December's* rage.

He seeks the verdant blooming shade,
But shuns the wither'd bough;
He flies the whiteness on thy head,
The wrinkles on thy brow.

In vain are all your arts, and care,
To blot out age's trace;
No wash, no paint shall e'er repair
The ruins of thy face.

With tears behold thy charms retir'd,
Thy once-engaging mien,
Thy shape by gazing crouds admir'd,
The colour of thy skin.

Where are those eyes that shed such grace?
Those breasts that wont to play?
Those loves that breath'd upon thy face,
And stole my heart away?

They're fled, alas! and age comes on,
With all his frightful train;
And all thy beauties now are flown,
While all thy faults remain.

No more thy breasts shall wishful rise,
Thy cheeks no more shall glow;
In place of love-darts from thy eyes
Distilling rheums must flow.

No more your love-sick swain you'll hear,
In melting numbers die;
No song shall warble you are fair,
Or mourn your killing eye.

But sharp lampoons, in biting lays,
Thy secret sins shall tell
To *M—t—n*, how in former days
Thy virgin honours fell.

Thy loathing lovers shun thy arms,
Thy kindness treat with scorn;
They glory o'er thy faded charms,
And triumph in their turn.

The gods, who gave thee youth t'engage
Our hearts, and to disdain,
Have curs'd thee now with loathsome age,
To recompence our pain. SCOTUS.

LOVE and ANGER, their different
Effects. Address'd to Miss S—r—d.

WHEN raging anger burns *Camilla's*
breast,
And racking cares dispel all thoughts of rest,

Those eyes look languid, which before flash'd
fire,
No more her beauty stimulates desire.
Her bosom with tempestuous storms is tols'd,
And all the goddesses in the fury lost.

But, when the pitying gods the cause re-
move,
And set at ease that object of our love,
Admiring *Cupids* hail th' approaching day,
Bask round her eyes, or in her dimples play.
Again her breast with tender thoughts is
mov'd,
Again *Camilla* reigns, again is lov'd.

So when the *Pleiads*, station'd in the sky,
Proclaim the hurricane and tempest nigh,
The sun in gloomy clouds obscures his light,
And what before was day, resembles night;
The lashing winds the foaming ocean sweep,
And hollow thunders bellow o'er the deep.

But when the god of day his face unveils,
And *Æolus* confines his furious gales,
The wanton fish o'er *Tbetis'* bosom range,
Sport in the sunshine, and enjoy the change.
H. P.

To a FRIEND, inviting him to Rural
Pleasures.

THE blushing fields give new delight,
And rapture with soft scenes the fight;
The soaring lark extends his wings,
And untaught numbers sweetly sing;
The tree renews its blooming flow'r,
The blackbirds whistle in each bow'r;
The purling streams thro' meadows fall,
And murmur'ing grateful slumbers call.
Who wou'd not seek a calm retreat,
A rural, yet unenvied seat;
And in the paths of shady groves,
Recite the ardour of his loves?

My friend! then shun the noisy town,
The country is more pleasant grown;
The violets their scents exhale,
And nightingales enchant the vale.
J. B.

To SYLVIA. (See p. 453.)

WHY heyday! *Sylvia*! What d'ye
mean?
Pray stop those wild careers.
What, madam, has the *Irish* dean
Taught you to rhyme on P—rs?

The song he writ on *Molly Mog*
The heart with pleasure cheers;
You make it heavier than a log
With stupid stuff on P—rs.

Remember *Phaeton's* sad fate!
For head-strong charioteers,
Like awkward poets, imitate,
As you have done on P—rs.

She who, like you, with nonsense vile,
The paper white besmears,
1740 Y y y Ma

May by her folly force a smile,
But nothing else from P—rs.
'Tis said, that getting up betimes
The understanding clears;
Go! rise at six and write your rhymes,
Or else despair of P—rs.
You may, indeed, a conquest gain
O'er weekly *Gazetteers*;
But ah! believe me, 'tis in vain
To aim at captain P—rs.

To CHLOE, *quoto quoted* * *Salus Populi
suprema Lex esto.*

WHAT! Latin, politics, and reason!
And the poor *tory* then is pos'd?
Why, this is downright, horrid treason,
All in one single line enclos'd.

You say then, *Cblos*, kings were made
To show'r down blessings on their people;
And on its back you think you've laid
The *jus divinum* of the steeple.
Therefore if kings, however great,
Their subjects happiness invade;
Reduce them to an humbler state,
And make them know why they were
made.

And here you fix without appealing;
This argument you say shall do —
Nay, *Chloe*, this is not fair dealing,
To conquer, and laugh at me too.
But come, my little charming queen,
Stand to your text, and so will I;
Now shine forth in your haughtiest mien,
If I'm a rebel — I must die.

Remember, when I homage paid,
And promis'd ever to be true,
Confessions on your side were made,
Which I might challenge as my due.

Ever to love, and to obey,
Were the dear terms of my submission;
And wherein have I gone astray,
Or how infring'd on the condition?

To wing each moment with new joys
My queen her royal promise gave;
And yet each moment she employs
To torture her afflicted slave.

Thy coronation oath thus broke,
Fair tyrant, by thy cruelty;
I my allegiance revoke,

Thy power's determin'd, and I'm free,
'And who, bold rebel, gave thee leave
'To doubt the justice of my reign?'
And why, dear *Chloe*, wilt thou strive
To prove thyself no lawful queen?

Own then, thy reasoning to be wrong;
That kings are kings by right divine;
Or else, to make thy pow'r more strong,
Be ever gentle, ever mine.

To a young LADY, inoculating. By a
Fellow-Commoner of Oxford.

AS in the bark's prolific wound
Mira inclos'd the glowing bud;
The little god with eyes unbound,
Close by her side observant stood.
He saw; and took his keenest dart,
And smiling on the busied fair,
Laid ope, with equal skill, my heart,
And fix'd her lovely image there.
What stronger proof can *Damon* give,
That he is constant, fix'd, and true,
When he, while in this breast you live,
May as well fly himself, as you?

A FLY painted on Spectacles. By a Gen-
tleman-Commoner of Oxford.

THERE's an engine in opticks enlarges
each letter, [better.
And clapt to her nose makes my grannum see
Pretty Phill, in the centre of each glassy eye,
To puzzle a doctor had painted a fly:
Well; *Sunday* is here, and the maggot pass'd
on; [done.
All hurry to church; and the psalms are half
The doctor ascends, pronounces the text,
Three heads were to come, and an inference
next.
With rage and fell passion, the little fly fill'd
him, [kill'd him:
And fierce as *Domitian*, he thought to have
Yet in vain you are cruel, and tho' but a fly,
What was made by her hand, was ne'er des-
tin'd to die.

ARCHIMEDES'S GLOBE.

WHEN first the globe by *Archimede* de-
sign'd [mind,
Shew'd the high flights of man's aspiring
In a full house the gods to *Jove* apply'd,
To stop th' attempt, and check their haughty
pride:

But he who rules the senate of the blest,
In words like these their sudden rage suppress;
Blame not that we such arts to men have
shewn; [known.

The more they search, the more our pow'r is

To Miss T——n.

DELIA, one scorching summer's day,
T'avoid the sun's too sultry ray,
Would bathe her in the crystal flood;
There on that bank she naked stood.
Her gown thrown off, her stays unty'd,
Each beauty-veiling robe aside,
Her well-turn'd limbs expos'd to view,
Sweeter than what *Apelles* drew,
When *Venus*' picture he essay'd,
Sweeter than what fam'd *Scopas* made,

When *Venus* in the marble glow'd,
 And all her naked beauties show'd;
Venus show'd meaner charms than those,
 When from the sea she first arose,
 Or when she left the azure skies,
 Contending for bright beauty's prize,
 With *Pallas* and with heaven's queen,
 By the *Idalian* shepherd seen.—
 —And now the springs. The azure flood
 Of such a charming load was proud,
 And gently-flowing glides along;
 The lovely sea nymphs round her throng.
Neptune bids waves and winds be still,
 The waves and winds obey his will.
 Smoothly she swims the liquid way,
 Her touch the parting floods obey.
 But now the nymph to turn essay'd;
 And now she found herself betray'd.
 In vain she strives, the flowing tide
 Will still perverse, still forward glide.
 Ah! see the lovely fair-one mourn,
 She swims, she strives, but can't return.
 Her cloaths were lost, herself was bare,
 And flowing down the lord knows where.
 At length she gain'd a friendly sand,
 And thence at last arriv'd at land.
 But where she was, how far from home,
 And where to turn, which way to roam,
 She knew no more than was the toft,
 Far off on some deserted coast.
 But yet, she saw a pleasant bow'r,
 Where ev'ry sweetly-scented flow'r
 Their pleasing odours join'd to yield,
 Behind a spacious verdant field.
 And yet no steps had mark'd the ground,
 No way was made, no path was found;
 But tired here she's fix'd to stay,
 E'er yet she seeks her unknown way.—
 —Sweet *Cupid*, god of pleasing love,
 Was looking all about above,
 To see and find his mother out:
 At length he flew, and took his rout
 To this sweet grot, to find the dame,
 For here he knew she often came,
 Pleas'd with the coolness of the bow'r,
 To pass retir'd a sultry hour.
 And here 'tis said, (or shall be said,
 To make my story better laid,)
 After a day of toil and pain,
 When spent with *Vernon* on the main,
Mars us'd to come and take his rest,
 His cares forgetting on her breast.—
 —But here he came. And creeping near
 He peep'd to see if *Mars* was there.
 When *Delia* there he saw alone,
 He quickly march'd more boldly on.
 (He took her for the *Cyprian* dame,
Venus and *Delia* are the same.)
 And la! mamma, the urchin cry'd,
 I've all around the heavens pry'd,
 And thought at last I ne'er should find ye,
 What made you leave me, pray, behind ye?
 I thought that *Mars* too here had been,
 And you not caring to be seen,

Would shut me out, or send me home.—
 —But now, mamma, for this I'm come;
 To-day I chanc'd a nymph to view,
 The fairest that you ever knew;
Delia I think it is, they call her:
 O could I find her, how I'd maul her!
 But she despising all my art,
 Vows she'll be mistress of her heart,
 Laughing at all man's sighs and tears,
 Despising all the vows she hears.
 Now, dear mamma, if you'll believe me,
 Her cruel coldness does so grieve me,
 That I'd give almost any thing,
 Could I this haughty *Delia* bring
 To own love's all-subduing pow'r,
 And *Cupid*'s godhead to adore.
 I've had such shoals of pray'rs and tears,
 Of vows, of wishes, sighs, and fears,
 That I would point some gilded dart,
 And pierce this cruel fair-one's heart,
 Prefer'd to me, this very morning;
 Nay I have often gave her warning,
 That if she thus persists to slight me,
 I'd find some method soon to right me.
 But as I am a little blind,
 Do, dear mamma, now be so kind,
 To take this arrow, pierce her breast,
 'Twill thaw her coldness, grant no rest.
 ('Tis *Venus* points all *Cupid*'s darts,
 Beauty alone can wound our hearts.)
 She'll then my sov'reign pow'r invoke;
 For he who deals the dangerous stroke,
 (Such is the virtue of the dart)
 Is sure to gain the wounded heart;
 And still as long as life remains,
 'Twill wear the noble victor's chains,
 Must do whatever he would have,
 His close attendant,—faithful slave.—
 —Here *Delia* smil'd, but nothing spoke,
 She took the dart and dealt the stroke,
Cupid with his own arrow wounded;
 The sudden blow the god confounded.
 He, slave to his own pow'r must prove,
 And *Cupid*'s self must fall in love.
 He to whom all the fair obey,
 Must stoop beneath a fair one's sway.
 Hard fate! yet fate who can controul?
 The piercing dart had reach'd his soul.
 He felt the pains he us'd to inspire,
 The wish, the sigh, the fond desire.
 And now he leaves the joyless skies,
 Attendant on bright *Delia*'s eyes.
 All hearts now bend to *Delia*'s pow'r,
 All eyes now *Delia*'s charms adore.
 He points his arrows from her will,
 Spares when she smiles; and when she frowns,
 he'll kill.

D. H.

TWEED SIDE.

WHAT's the spring, breathing violet,
 and rose,
 What's the summer, with all his gay train,
 Y y y a Or

Or the plenty of autumn to those,
Who have barter'd their freedom for gain?
Then let love of our king's legal right
To the love of our country succeed,
And let friendship, and honour unite,
And flourish, on both sides the Tweed.

No sweetness the senses can cheer,
That corruption and bribery bind,
No brightness the gloom ever clear;
For honour's the sun of the mind.
Then let love, &c.

Let virtue distinguish the brave,
Place riches in lower degree,
Think him poorest, who dares be a slave,
And him richest, who dares to be free,
Let the love, &c.

Let us think how our ancestors rose,
Let us think how our ancestors fell;
'Tis the rights they defended, 'tis those
They bought with their blood, that we sell.
Then let love, &c.

TO A FRIEND.

NE'ER judge, my friend, the man is rich,
Who dazled with his golden store,
Admires himself, and proudly thinks
The only meanness, to be poor.
Nor yet conclude the other blest,
Who, fond of a transmitted name,
Boasts of his ancestors, but taints
Their glorious actions with his shame.
That man is despicably mean,
Who, little in himself, wou'd crown
His false pretensions with the glare
Of merit, that is not his own.
Shall I, when glitt'ring knaves deride,
Fair virtue! shun thy heav'nly face,
And to delusive grandeur run
From thy extatic, kind embrace?
'Tis virtue god-like and divine
That fills with real joy the breast,
Nor can the splendour of a crown
Without it make the monarch blest.
Live but from care, and vices free,
Be-fit with enough, and sweet content,
You'll all the happiness enjoy
That e'er for man on earth was meant.

J. DINSDALE.

On a certain LAWYER's conversing with Miss
Talbot at Bath.

FROM weight of sordid venal cares,
The wealthy pleader flies;
From inns of Court to Bath repairs,
To fall by radiant eyes.

Where'er he goes a Talbot's found
In brightest lustre plac'd;
For wisdom on the bench renown'd,
And hers with beauty grac'd.

Nor boasts she only shape and air,
All arts her mind adorn;
The charms of this accomplish'd fair
A single triumph scorn.

Pleaser, behold the laws are vain
In liberty's defence:
For who can fly the double chain
Of beauty and of sense?

The Story of the Milk-maid is in our MAG.
for 1732, p. 311.

AN EPITHALAMIUM.

LO! Hymen passes thro' admiring crowds,
A saffron robe the hideous tyrant shrouds;
Behind stalks *Plutus* with a tempting store,
A mimic *Cupid* bears the torch before;
False hopes and phantom joys, a gaudy train,
Surround his carr and dance along the plain:
Still as he passes, witless maids and swains,
Lur'd by the shew, put on his gilded chains.

Be wise, ye fair! and shun the tempting bait,
Nor flounce and struggle on the hook too late.
Too late the fatal cheat you will discover,
When you have caught the spouse but lost the lover!
The pleasing scene shall vanish from your eye,
And gloomy discontents obscure the sky.
What tho' th' impatient lover's fervent kiss,
May promise rapt'rous nights and endless bliss?
The hour shall be, when you, become a bride,
Must hear him snore inactive by your side.

Mark well, ye fair! a blooming swain and
maid, [vade;
While new-born flames their tender hearts in-
He warm and active as the sun at noon,
She gay and genial as the wanton *Juno*;
They speak in raptures, and with transports
move, [they love.

They meet, they kiss, they press, they pant;
But lo! the long d-for *Hymen* joins their hands,
And rivets on the everlasting bands!
The holy charm soon damps their warm desires,
(For *Hymen's* torch still puts out *Cupid's* fires)
They grow *platonick* bodies, leave off sporting,
While soul and soul go hand and hand in court-
ing;

The vigorous lover and the mistress gay
Turn'd to a lifeless mass of mingled clay.

This sudden change in a young healthy pair
May make, perhaps, the beaux and women
stare,

May puzzle court and city to detect
The mighty power which works the sad effect:
But sages who explore each hidden cause,
Know that, by nature's necessary laws,
Two distant bodies, while they're free and
loose,

May action and re-action still produce;
But by compulsive force together ty'd,
No action can begin on either side.

This single problem may suffice to prove
The dire effect that wedlock has on love:
In order to convince the learned few,
We bring them reasons physically true;

But

But since (to make an argument more strong)
Examples must be haul'd in right or wrong,
An ancient tale serv'd up in modern sort
May chance to please the fair—*tho' 'tis but*
short. [flood,

While *Hermes*' son sports in the crystal
Salmacis lurks within the bord'ring wood;
Behind the twining boughs she stands to view
His well-turn'd limbs, and pants to touch 'em
too;

Then grown impatient, casts her robes aside,
And plunging furious thro' the yielding tide,
She grasps the struggling boy with eager love,
And thus directs her fatal pray'r to *Jove*;
Supreme of powers! ob grant me to remain
Thus join'd for ever to the lovely swain!
Too well she's heard, the mingling sexes blend,
And the lost pair in a new monster end.

Thus many a lost girl thro' sad mistake,
Soules into the matrimonial lake,
In hopes of raptures, bliss and all the rest,
Which lovers feel, possessing and possess'd;
Warm'd with the thought, she's tir'd of being
alone,

Sees a brisk youth and wishes him her own;
Her pray'r is granted, by the church's doom,
They're join'd for ever and one flesh become;
In wife and husband, girl and boy are lost,
And make one poor hermaphrodite at most.

To a young Lady, on a PATCH she wore.

THAT speck of art upon your face
Would seem a foil in one less fair;
In you it hides a killing grace,
And you in mercy place it there.

On SILENCE in Love, written by a young
LADY.

SILENCE in love betrays more woe
Than words, tho' ne'er so witty;
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
Deserves a double pity.

O D E.

OTER beatus! sub nemorum cœmis
Jacere lento cui tenerè licet,
Dulces & æternare amores
Æolæ numeris puellæ.
Curis soluto candidus it dies,
Rivusq; parvo murmure perstrepat,
Molli reclinatum sub umbrâ
Dum volucres recreant, & auræ.
Sed blanda sylvas inter amabiles
Errare pulchro Laura velit pede,
Sanus tyrannorum recusem
Delicias operosiores.

To Mr. M. on his Denial of the Soul's future
Existence.

S I R,

WHILE you, with prejudice and pride
Mistled,
Move on where *Hobbs*, and where *Spinoza* led;

Where impious atheists did a scheme intend,
Obscurely laid to compromise their end;
First cast an eye on this planetic ball,
From pole to pole survey the little all:
What various lands and seas the whole compose,
And how the ocean keeps its ebbs and flows.

Next mount on high the splendid sphere to
view,

Where each alone affords a wonder new;
In ev'ry wand'ring world, both great and small,
One universal law prevails thro' all:
Which from their first creation, to this day,
Were never known to deviate or stray.
And as you view this harmony sublime,
Note how their motions measure space and time.

Then upwards yet your ravish'd eyes convey,
And view the skies with sparkling di'monds
gay:

See num'rous solar systems scatter'd round,
To make your admiration more profound.
So great, so ample, so immense, so near
To infinite, the artist comes in fear,
With timid numbers, dreading to intrude,
Or circumscribe unmeasured magnitude.
So great, that had a bullet took its way
From hence, upon the first creation-day,
And ever since, with equal speed, kept on,
To the most distant star (as yet) it had not
gone.

And yet the soul can in a moment fly,
In thought, to stars remotest in the sky;
Nay far beyond all limitation go,
E'en where blest beams divine for ever flow;
Where the blest architect in bliss resides,
Who made the world, and o'er the same pre-
sides.

And can you think a principle so bright,
Less than ray of uncreated light?
Less than a spark of that celestial fire,
On whom both life and thought depend intire?
T. B.

The COUNTRY WALK, attempted in Rhime,
from Milton.

AS one who long in pop'lous city pent,
Where houses thick, and sew'rs annoy
the scent,
Forth issuing on a summer's morn to breathe,
Along the pleasant farms or spacious heath,
From every thing he meets, conceives delight,
Dwells on each rural sound, each rural sight,
The lowing kine, sweet grain, and verdant
grass: [pals,
If chance, with nymph-like step, fair virgin
What pleasing seem'd, for her now pleases
more,
She most, the sum of all that charm'd before.

Baptizatio Rustica, and several other Pieces
we have receiv'd, shall be insert'd in our next.

In Orpheus and Eurydice, in our last, line
28, for flies read sits.

T H E

THE Monthly Chronologer.



MONDAY, Sept. 29, came on at a Court of Hustings at Guildball the Election of a Lord Mayor for the Year ensuing, when Sir Robert Godschall, Knt. and Alderman, and George Heathcote, Esq; Alderman, were return'd by the Common Hall to the Court of Aldermen, who thought proper to chuse George Heathcote, Esq; and he was accordingly declared duly elected*; upon which Sir Robert Godschall address'd himself to the Livery, and return'd them Thanks for the Honour they did him, expressing his Concern that his Brethren of the Court of Aldermen had, without any Reason assign'd, deny'd him the Favour intended by his Fellow Citizens; and as he was not conscious of any Demerit in himself, he hoped they would justify their Conduct to the World. After which Alderman Heathcote declared his grateful Sense of the Honour done him, but desir'd his Fellow Citizens would excuse his serving them in that Capacity for the ensuing Year, on account of his ill State of Health, and the fatiguing, tho' honourable Office, which he had so lately undergone, [*viz.* that of Sheriff] especially as his Brethren had not made the least Objection to the worthy Alderman his Senior, either in Point of Honour, Ability, or Integrity. After which a Motion was made by William Benn, Esq; and seconded by Mr. Charles Hitch, That the Thanks of this Hall be given to George Heathcote, Esq; for supporting the Liberties of his Fellow Citizens, in declining the Office of Lord Mayor for the ensuing Year. And the Question being thereon put, the same was carry'd by the unanimous Voice of the Common Hall. The following Gentlemen were present in the Court of Aldermen.

Sir John Salter, Knt. Lord Mayor,	John Barber, Esq;
Sir John Eyles, Bart.	Sir J. Barnard, Kt.
Sir Rob. Baylis, Kt.	Sir R. Godschall, Kt.
Sir Will. Billers, Kt.	Geo. Heathcote, Esq;
Sir J. Williams, Kt.	Daniel Lambert, Esq;
Sir J. Thompson, Kt.	Sir J. Lequesne, Kt.
Sir Harc. Master, Kt.	Henry Marshall, Esq;
Sir G. Champion, Kt.	Richard Hoare, Esq;
Sir Will. Reus, Kt.	
Sir Jos. Hankey, Kt.	
William Baker, Esq;	
George Arnold, Esq;	

Of which the 11 were for George Heathcote, Esq; and the 8 for Sir Robert Godschall. Absent, Humphry Parsons, Esq; Sir Edw. Bellamy, Knt. Micajah Perry, Esq; Richard Levett, Esq; Robert Willmot, Esq; Robert Wesley, Esq;

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 1.

The Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of expos'd and deserted young Children, held their quarterly General Meeting, at which they receiv'd the Report of their Committee for settling the Plan for the immediate Execution of this Charity, by taking in as far as 60 Children, as soon as the Corporation can be ready to receive them; and after some Amendments to the said Plan, approv'd thereof, and gave Leave for the printing it. And it being mov'd for a Book to be open'd for receiving Subscriptions to purchase Land, and build an Hospital for transferring the said 60 Children to, and taking in a larger Number, as the Corporation shall be enabled, the same was order'd, and several of the Governors and Guardians subscribed thereto.

TUESDAY, 7.

Was held a Court of Aldermen at Guildball, where were very great Debates relating to the Affair of Lord Mayor, but nothing determined.

Lieut. Crookbanks, of the Greenwich Man of War, arriv'd Express at the Admiralty-Office, with an Account that Commodore Brown was arriv'd at Falmouth from the West-Indies; the Occasion of his Return home being, as 'tis said, on account of his ill State of Health. The said Messenger brought several Packets from Admiral Vernon to the Duke of Newcastle, &c. The S. S. Company's Factors, releas'd from Panama on Admiral Vernon's taking Porto-Bello, came home in the Greenwich.

FRIDAY, 10.

Was held a Court of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council at Guildball, when the Affair of Lord Mayor for the ensuing Year was debated, and after several Arguments, the Question was put, That Mr. Alderman Heathcote be Compell'd to serve the Office of Lord Mayor for the Year ensuing, which was strongly oppos'd; and another Question propos'd, That he should be Excus'd from serving the Office for the Year ensuing, which

* In a few of our last, in the Article of chusing Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Godschall is mention'd by Mistake, instead of George Heathcote, Esq;

which latter Question, upon Debate, was rejected, and the former almost unanimously put, and carried almost unanimously in the Negative. Then another Question was put, That he be excus'd, without any Fine, &c. which was carried likewise almost unanimously.—This Negative Question was put to prevent a Negative in the Court of Aldermen.

MONDAY, 13.

An Express was brought to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with an Account that her Serene Highness *Magdalen Augusta*, of *Anhalt-Zerbst*, Dutches of *Saxe-Gotba*, Mother to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, died a few Days since. The next Day, Orders were issued out at *Norfolk House*, by his Royal Highness's Command, that his Royal Highness's Family should go into Mourning on Sunday next, on that Occasion.

His Majesty left *Hanover* on Tuesday the 7th Instant, and arrived at *Helvoetsluys* on Friday; the next Day at Noon his Majesty embark'd on board the *Carolina Yacht*, and sail'd immediately, attended by the other Royal Yachts, and the Convoy commanded by Vice-Admiral *Balchen*. On Sunday about 5 in the Evening they came to an Anchor about 2 Leagues from the *North Foreland*; and this Morning about 10 a Clock his Majesty landed at *Deal*, and arriv'd at *St. James's* in perfect Health between 8 and 9 at Night.

TUESDAY, 14.

Came on at *Guildhall*, the Election of a Lord Mayor of this City, for the ensuing Year, in the Room of *George Heathcote*, Esq; who honourably refused to take Place of *Sir Robert Godschall* his Senior, and had been discharged by the Common-Council from serving the said Office. The Persons put in Nomination were, all the Aldermen below the Chair, who had served the Office of Sheriff, and upon the Motion of *Mr. Benn*, *Mr. Calvert*, and others, *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; when *Sir Robert Godschall*, Knt. and *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; were (almost unanimously) returned by the Common Hall to the Court of Aldermen, there being but three Hands held up for *Sir George Champion*. The Aldermen, after a Debate which lasted near three Hours, were pleas'd to put by *Sir Robert Godschall* again, and returned *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor being indisposed, *Sir John Eyles*, Bart. the Senior Alderman, took the Chair.

The following Aldermen were present, viz.

<i>Sir John Eyles</i> , Bart.	* <i>H. Parsons</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir Robert Baylis</i>	<i>John Barber</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir William Billers</i>	<i>Sir John Barnard</i>
<i>Sir John Williams</i>	<i>Sir R. Godschall</i>
<i>Sir John Thompson</i>	<i>Geo. Heathcote</i> , Esq;
* <i>Sir Edw. Bellamy</i>	<i>Sir John Lequeine</i>
<i>Sir Harcourt Master</i>	* <i>R. Willimot</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir George Champion</i>	<i>Daniel Lambert</i> , Esq;

Sir William Roas

Sir Joseph Hankey

William Baker, Esq;

George Arnold, Esq;

Of whom the Twelve were for *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; and the Eleven for *Sir Robert Godschall*.

Those mark'd * were not present on *Michaelmas-day*.

It is absolutely necessary to return two Persons to the Court of Aldermen for their Choice of one, which was the Occasion of nominating *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; he being the Senior Alderman above the Chair, except *Sir John Eyles*, Bart. Post-master General, and *Sir Robert Baylis*, Knt. Commissioner of the Customs.

Sir William Irby, Bart. Vice-Chamberlain to the Princess of Wales, waited on the King with a Letter from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to notify to his Majesty, that the Princess his Consort was far advanced in her Pregnancy.

THURSDAY, 16.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of this City waited on his Majesty, to congratulate him on his safe Return; when *Sir John Strange*, the Recorder, made their Compliments in a Speech: To which his Majesty return'd the following most gracious Answer.

I take very kindly this Mark of your Affection to me and my Government: The Zeal which you express for the Support of this just and necessary War, is very acceptable to me. My Endeavours shall never be wanting to carry it on with Vigour; and I doubt not, but, by the Blessing of God, and the Support of my People, they will be attended with Success.

SATURDAY, 18.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 7 following receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Anne Howard*, for stealing a Silver Tankard; *Eleanor Mumpman*, *Edward Madder*, *Thomas Clack*, and *William Meers*, for House-breaking; *Margery Stanton*, alias *Ruggety Madge*, for robbing *Mr. Parish* of 23 Guineas, stripping him, and turning him naked into the Street; and *William Dewell* for a Rape on *Sarah Griffin*, in a Barn at *Alton*: One of his Accomplices, who was to have been try'd with him, dy'd in *Newgate* that Morning.

'Tis remarkable that in the last Year there were condemn'd 44, order'd for Transportation 252.

In the present Year there have been condemn'd 44, order'd for Transportation 251.

WEDNESDAY, 22.

Was held, at the Request of the Rt. Hon. *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; Lord Mayor Elect, a Court of Common-Council at *Guildhall*, when he acquainted the Court, that if it was their Desire, he was willing to accept that Office for

for the ensuing Year, let the Expence be what it wou'd; which Declaration was receiv'd by the Court with unanimous Applause, and thereupon the following Motion was made; That the Thanks of this Court be given to the Right Hon. *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; Lord Mayor Elect, for accepting a second Time the laborious and expensive Office of the Mayoralty, and thereby in some Measure restoring the Peace and Tranquillity of this City, which has been greatly disturbed by a late extraordinary and unusual Proceeding; which Question, after long Debates, was agreed to by a very great Majority: But an Amendment being propos'd by some of the Aldermen present, and Sir *John Eyles* and Sir *Robert Baylis* insisting that the Opinion of the Aldermen should be separately taken thereon, and several of the Court of Aldermen insisting upon a Negative, a long Debate ensued, in which their Power of putting a Negative on the Question was disputed with great Warmth; but they still insisting upon that Power, Sir *John Barnard*, the Lord Mayor Elect, and the rest of the worthy Aldermen who voted for Sir *Robert Godschall*, as also a very great Majority of the Common-Council, withdrew from Court; protesting, That the Aldermen had no Right to vote separately, or put a Negative in the forming of a Question. After which the Aldermen and about twenty of the Common-Council-Men that remain'd in Court return'd Thanks to the Right Hon. Sir *John Salter*, Knt. Lord Mayor, for his wise and impartial Conduct in his Mayoralty; and also to the Lord Mayor Elect, for his accepting that Office a second Time.

To the Worthy LIVERYMEN of the City of London.

Gentlemen,
I BEG Leave to return you my most humble and hearty Thanks, for the remarkable Affection with which you did me the Honour to support your Nomination of me to be your chief Magistrate for the Year ensuing.

As this distinguishing Mark of your Regard to me most justly commands, so I assure you it shall most certainly meet the sincerest Returns of Gratitude on my Part, whensoever I can be so happy as to have any Opportunity of testifying the high Sense I have of your Goodness to me.

I have been, 'tis true, depriv'd of the great Office, for which you design'd me, by a Majority of one Vote, amongst my Brethren the Aldermen; but the repeated Honour of so unanimous a Choice of my fellow Citizens, confer'd on me in two very numerous Common-halls, sufficiently recompences me for that Slight; and as the Honour you have done me cannot be taken from me by any Persons whatever, I shall always prize it infi-

nately beyond the Splendour of any Post, how eminent soever it may be.

It must be, I think, no small Satisfaction to your worthy Body, to perceive that this (I hope unmerited) Severity, with which I have been so remarkably distinguish'd, has induced several of those worthy Gentlemen who have already fill'd the Chair of this City with the greatest Dignity and Applause, generously to resolve to go through that high but expensive and laborious Office again, when they shall be call'd upon by you, rather than not shew their Disapprobation of this unusual Opposition to your repeated Choice.

I hope that nothing which has happen'd in this Affair will in any Manner disunite the City, and thereby lessen the Weight it receives from Unanimity; and I sincerely wish that no Citizen of London may hence forwards be distinguish'd by any Thing, but his unalterable Zeal and steady Attachment to the Welfare of his Country, and the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of this great Capital. I am,

Gentlemen,
College-Hill, Your most obliged, and
Oft. 22, 1740. Devoted humble Servant,
ROBERT GODSCHALL.

The *West-India* Merchants waited on his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, and delivered a Petition for a Number of Men of War to be station'd for the Security of the *West-India* Trade; his Grace receiv'd them in a very handsome Manner, and assured them, he would lay the same before his Majesty.

A general Embargo was laid on all Shipping in the Ports of *Ireland*, as the only Expedient at present to prevent the Exportation of the Beef of that Country to foreign Parts.

THURSDAY, 23.

Sir *Cbaloner Ogle*, with the Squadron he commands and the Transports, got under Sail with the Wind at N. by E. At 2 a Clock *Dunmore* bore N. W. distant about 3 Leagues, when the Wind shifted to N. W. which oblig'd them to tack and stand in, and about 5 a Clock they all came to an Anchor at *St. Helens*.

George Bubb Doddington, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Bridgewater* in *Somersetshire*, who for many Years was one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, has lately resign'd that Office.

FRIDAY, 24.

The great Cause so long depending in Chancery between the *York buildings* Company and their Creditors came on for the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor's Judgment, when his Lordship was pleas'd to make a Decree in favour of the Creditors.

SUNDAY, 26.

This Morning about 9 a Clock the Fleet under the Command of Sir *Cbaloner Ogle*, and

and the Transports, sailed again from St. *Helen*, with a brisk Gale at N. E.

WEDNESDAY, 29.

The Right Hon. *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; the new Lord Mayor of *London*, was with the usual Solemnity sworn into that high and honourable Office at *Westminster*, for the Year ensuing. This is the second Time of his Lordship's serving in this important Post, he having executed the Office of Lord Mayor, in the Year 1731. What was remarkable in the Procession was, that his Lordship's Coach was drawn by 6 Horses.

THURSDAY, 30.

Was celebrated the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth-Day, who then enter'd into the 58th Year of his Age.

Wigtown, Oct. 15. Yesterday, after holding the head Court of the Shire of *Wigtown*, the Sheriff ask'd the Earl of *Stair*, Whether his Lordship had any Thing to propose for the Good of the Country? Upon which the Earl made a Speech, in which he recommended to the Freeholders, above all Things, to be attentive to the Preservation of our happy Constitution, which he said, could be preserv'd only by a free Parliament, and that that Parliament could not be free which was compos'd of Members unfree, and such as depended on the Will and Pleasure of a M——r; that such an Assembly could only retain the Name of a Parliament, like those in the End of *K. Charles II's* Reign and of *K. James's*, when arbitrary Power prevail'd over *Scotland*, and particularly in this western Corner; and his Lordship gave many Examples of cruel and lawless Things that had happened in that very County. His Lordship set forth the Danger that might attend electing Placemen to be our Representatives in Parliament, from the List of the 45 Members, by which it appear'd that the Custom of electing Placemen and Pensioners, had most exceedingly prevail'd, especially of young Men that had little or no Estates. He had a List of the 45 Parliament Men from *Scotland* in his Hand, from which he observ'd, that of the 15 Persons representing the Boroughs, (the trading Part of the Kingdom) 10 of them were Officers in the Army, the other 5 were Placemen, or believ'd to be P——; that 14 out of the 15, had made the Will of the M——r the Rule of their voting in Parliament, &c.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

R OGER Hall, of *Mount-ball*, in the County of *Dorset*, Esq; to Miss *Savage*.

—— *Lamond* of *That-Ilk*, Esq; to Lady *Emilia M'Kenzie*, Sister to the Earl of *Cromarty*.

Samuel Bell, of *North-Luffingham* in *Rutlandshire*, Esq; to Mrs. *Villiers*.

Counsellor *Baynes* of the *Temple*, to Miss *Morrison*.

—— *Johnsq*, of *Berkhamstead*, Esq; to Miss *Bloomfield*.

Mr. Skinner, one of the Common-Council Men of *Farringdon Within*, to Miss *Bristow*.

Mr. Daniel Lambert, Nephew to *Mr. Alderman Lambert*, to the only Daughter of *Mr. Edward Lambert*, an eminent Wool-stapler in *Bermondsey-street*, *Southwark*.

Mr. Walters, an Attorney at Law, to Mrs. *Howe*, Granddaughter of the late Bishop *Kennet*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Richard Cbeck, jun. of *Cbelsea*, Esq; to Miss *Ellers*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. Henry Warcopp, of *Charing-Cross*, Linen-draper to his Majesty, to Mrs. *Dorothy Wynne*.

—— *Adderley*, of the County of *Cork*, Esq; to the Rt. Hon. the Lady *Charlemount*, Mother of the Lord Viscount *Charlemount*.

Countess of *Dyart*, safely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of the Hon. Col. *Byng*, also of a Son.

DEATHS.

R EV. *Mr. William Vawdrey*, a Dissenting Minister at *Bristol*: He was taken with a Palsy whilst preaching the Lecture in his Meeting-house on Tuesday Evening, and died a Day or two after.

Sir Roger Jennings, Knt. at his Seat near *Cambridge*.

George Newton, Esq; at *Twickenham*, formerly a Commander of a Ship in the *E. India* Company's Service.

Mr. James Brooker, a Fan-painter in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, remarkable for his great Exactness in taking down Trials, &c. in Short-hand.

Rev. William Mason, M. A. Fellow of *Clare-hall*, *Cambridge*, and Chaplain to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*.

William Lee, Esq; formerly Governor of *Guernsey*.

Sir Robert Corbett, Bart. one of the Commissioners of the Customs, succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his Son, now *Sir William Corbett*, Bart. Member for the Town of *Montgomery*.

Right Hon. *Pryce Lord Visc. Hereford*, first Viscount of this Kingdom. He is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his only Son, the Hon. *Pryce Dewereux*, Esq; Member for the County of *Montgomery*, now Lord Visc. *Hereford*. (See p. 399.)

Mrs. *Atkins*, Relict of the Rev. *Mr. Atkins*, formerly Minister of *Sunning* in *Berkshire*, of a Mortification in her Face.

Lady *Stanhope*, Wife of *Sir William Stanhope*, Knt. of the Bath, and Member for the County of *Bucks*.

Christopher Barnard, Esq; the Day he was to have been sworn in Mayor of *Yarmouth*.

John Floyd, Esq; of *Aston* near *Shrewsbury*.
Rev. Mr. Matthias Earbery, famous for several political and other Writings.

Thomas Aynscombe, in *Charter-House Square*:
1740 Z z z Hc

He was Governor of *Christ's-Hospital*, *St. Bartholomew's*, *Bridewell*, and *Betlem*, to which he has left handsome Legacies.

Rev. Mr. *John Sturges*, Prebendary of *Winchester*, and Rector of *Womeston* in *Hampshire*.

George Liddell, Esq; Member for *Berwick upon Tweed*. and one of the Commissioners of *Greenwich-Hospital*.

Sir *Redmond Morris*, Bart. at *Carlow* in *Ireland*.

Rev. Mr. *Richard Edwards*, at *Ruthin* in *Denbighshire*, Rector of *Lanwoog* and Vicar of *Lanwair*, both in that County.

Rev. Mr. *Huffey*, Rector of *Pewver* in *Ceshire*.

Charles Du Bois, Esq; who was many Years Treasurer to the *E. India Company*.

Thomas Batson, of the *Middle-Temple*, Esq; Barrister at Law, and one of the Commissioners of Bankruptcy.

The youngest Son of Admiral *Vernon*, aged about 11, of the Small Pox.

Richard Lord Viscount Coote, eldest Son of the Earl of *Bellmont*, and Capt. in the first Reg. of Foot Guards.

Mr. *Effington*, many Years Clerk of the *Mercers Company*. His Fortune, which is very considerable, falls to his only Daughter, Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Kinsale* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which Peer (by Right of Inheritance) has the Honour of wearing his Hat before his Majesty.

Sir *William Williams*, Bart. who is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his eldest Son, now Sir *Watlyn-Williams Wynn*, Bart.

Mr. *William Seward*, a Disciple and close Follower of Mr. *Whitefield*. He formerly belong'd to the *Treasury-Office* in the *S. S. House*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Lloyd*, one of the *Ushers* of *Westminster School*, appointed Lecturer and Curate of *St. Margaret's Westminster*.—*Henry Reynell*, M. A. Brother to the Lord Bishop of *Downe* and *Connor* in *Ireland*, made Prae-mentor in the Cathedral Church of *Connor*, a Preferment worth 700*l.* per Annum.—*Ralph Bridgeake*, L. L. B. and Fellow of *New-College* in *Oxford*, presented to the Vicarage of *Long Wittenham* in the County of *Berks*.—*John Barker*, B. A. to the Rectory of *Churchover* in the County of *Warwick*.—Mr. *Ramsay*, Chaplain to the Lord *Raymond*, to the Living of *Swanburn* in the County of *Bucks*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

THOMAS *William Gardener*, Esq; made a Captain in the Royal Reg. of Horse Guards. Blue.—*John Naylor*, Esq; nominated by *Nicholas Hardinge*, Esq; Clerk Assistant to the Hon. House of Commons.—Capt. *Thomas Phillpot*, made Capt. of the *Furnace Bomb-ketch*; and Mr. *Alexander A Court*, of the *Lightning Bomb-ketch*.—Mr. *Lucas*, of

the *Temple*, appointed one of the Commissioners of Bankrupts, in the Room of *Thomas Batson*, Esq; deceas'd.—His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*, *William Lord Sunden*, *Thomas Winnington*, *Giles Earle*, and *George Treby*, Esqrs. to be Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

PERSONS declar'd Bankrupts.

ROBERT *Brett*, of the Parish of *St. Mary le Bon*, Brewer.—*Thomas Truman*, late of *Burr-street*, *Middlesex*, Merchant and Mariner.—*Robert Bunduck*, of *King-street* near *Tower-hill*, Hair-seller.—*John Machin*, of *Newcastle under Line*, Mercer and Draper.—*Edward Tildsley*, of *Leeds*, Confectioner.—*Joseph Moses*, of *St. Mary Ax*, Jeweller.—*Edward Greenaway*, of *St. Olave*, *Southwark*, Grocer.—*John Johnson*, late of *Exeter*, Chapman.—*Elizabeth Teames*, of *New Bond-street*, Milliner.—*Henry Fanner*, late of *Lemon-street*, *Goldman's-fields*, Brewer.—*Samuel Reynolds*, of *Gravel lane*, *Southwark*, Refiner.—*James West*, of *Froome*, Clothier.—*John Hewlett*, of *Grace-church-street*, Ironmonger and Brazier.—*Thomas Cornwell*, late of *Church Hunibon*, in *Worcestershire*, Dealer.—*Robert Taylor*, of *Exeter*, Glover.—*Samuel Saunders*, of *Exeter*, Dyer.—*Thomas Barnes*, of *Romford*, in *Essex*, Carpenter.—*Joseph Griffiths*, of *Clare-Market*, Grocer.—*John Waters*, of the *Stable-Yard* near *Lamb's Conduit* in *Red-Lion-street*, Coach-Master.—*John West*, of *New-street*, near *Petter-lane*, Fanstick-maker.—*John Wilson* and *George Fothergill*, of *St. Andrew*, *Holborn*, Brewers.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Sept. 23 to Oct. 21.

Christned	{ Males 567 Females 541 }	1108
Buried	{ Males 878 Females 955 }	1833
Died under 2 Years old		676
Between 2 and 5		166
5	10	74
10	20	68
20	30	115
30	40	150
40	50	172
50	60	151
60	70	129
70	80	105
80	90	23
90 and upwards		4
		1833
		The

The following Memorial and Answer are so remarkable, that we think it necessary to communicate them at full Length, as follows, viz.

THE under-written Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty, has the Honour of representing to your Majesty, by Order of the King his Master, that as by the ninth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* it is expressly stipulated, that all the Fortifications of the Town of *Dunkirk* should be demolished, the Port filled up, the Moles and Sluices which served to cleanse the Port ruined, likewise with this express Condition, that the said Fortifications, Moles, or Sluices, should never again be established; and that by the fourth Article of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *France*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, it was also stipulated, that the grand Passage from the new Sluice of *Mardyke* should be destroyed, and that no Port, Harbour, Fortification, Sluice, or Basin, should be made or built at *Dunkirk*, at the Sluice of *Mardyke*, or in any Place whatsoever within the Distance of two Leagues from the Coast; it is with extreme Surprise, that his Majesty has received certain Advices, that in manifest Violation of the above Treaties, People are actually at Work in repairing the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and particularly that there are Men employed in erecting five Batteries, in order to mount thereupon a considerable Number of Guns; that one of these Batteries is already begun upon the *Risban*, and that the others are designed to be raised on the East of the Entrance of the Port.

The King my Master has ordered me to lay these Facts before your Majesty, not doubting but that without Delay you will give Orders to remedy the above-mentioned Infractions of the said Treaties, and to cause the Works carrying on at *Dunkirk* to cease, that those which have already been erected, be entirely destroyed, and that all Things be put in the Condition prescribed by those Treaties.

This is what the King my Master promises himself, as well from the Justice of your Majesty, as from the Regard that Powers so respectable ought always to have for the Observation of the most solemn Treaties.

At Paris, 3d Oct.

Signed,

O. S. 1740.

WALDEGRAVE.

On the 5th M. *Amelot* wrote the following Letter to the Earl *Waldegrave*.

S I R,

I HAVE acquainted the King with the Letter that your Excellence did me the Honour to write to me on the 3d Instant, and with the Memorial enclosed therein. His Ma-

jesty was much surprized to see the Complaints that his Britannick Majesty makes of the Orders that are supposed to have been actually given for re-establishing the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*. Nothing can be at a greater Distance from Truth, than the Reports which some People affect to spread upon this Subject. I assure your Excellence, that whatever is inserted in the *English* News Papers, in order to give Uneasiness about the Projects of *France*, is without any Foundation. The Port and Sluices of *Dunkirk*, the Town-Wall, and the Forts, which have been demolished pursuant to the Peace of *Utrecht*, and of the Treaty of Triple Alliance, are now in the same Condition they were in immediately after the Demolition. It is true, the King has caused four Batteries of Guns to be raised, in order to oblige the Corsairs and Privateers which infest these Seas, to keep at a due Distance from the Coast, and to secure the Inhabitants from the Insults which they were liable to from the smallest Ships; But I leave to your Excellence to judge, whether this indispensable and temporary Precaution, which will cease the Moment the publick Tranquillity shall be re-established, deserves to be called a Contravention of Treaties; and whether his Majesty has not rather Reason to complain of being, from such slender Grounds, taxed with failing in his Engagements. If after so formal an Assurance as this, which I have the Honour of making you, any Doubt should still remain with his Britannick Majesty, concerning the Works which have been reported to be carrying on at *Dunkirk*, it will be very easy to come at a Certainty therein by only sending, if he thinks fit, some Body upon the Spot. This is the Answer that the King has ordered me to make to the Letter with which your Excellence honoured me. I am,

S I R,

Your Excellence's most humble, &c.

Signed,

AMELOT.

Charles Francis of the House of *Austria*, Emperor of *Germany*, died at the *Favorita*, on Oct. 20. N. S. He was born, Sept. 21. O. S. 1685, and elected Emperor, Oct. 2. 1711. He has left only two Daughters, the eldest of which, in 1736, was married to the Duke of *Lorain*, now Duke of *Tuscany*.

As the Election of an Emperor of *Germany* will come on soon, we think it proper to give a List of the Electors, viz.

<i>Mentz,</i>	<i>Saxony,</i>
<i>Cologne,</i>	<i>Brandenbourg,</i>
<i>Trier,</i>	<i>Hanover,</i>
<i>Bavaria,</i>	and
<i>Palatine,</i>	<i>Austria.</i>

The

HISTORICAL.

1. **THE Annals of Europe.** Vol. I. for the Year 1740. To be continued. Printed for G. Hawkins, 8vo, price 6s.

2. The History of the Princes of Saxony. Sold by W. Meadows and J. Brindley, 8vo, price 3s. 6d.

3. The Military History of Charles XII. King of Sweden. In 3 Vols. 8vo. Printed for Mess. Knapton, J. Hodges, A. Millar and J. Nourse, price 18s.

4. The History of the Belles Lettres. Printed for J. Duncan, 8vo, price 4s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

5. The Family Magazine. In 2 Parts. Printed for J. Osborne, 8vo, price 5s.

6. Annual Matrimonial Expenses. Printed for W. Lewis, price 6d.

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8. Latina Lingua in Honorem Coll. Ox. Orationes. Ab hon. Ric. Verney, pr. 1s.

9. The Case of Henry Haines, late Printer of the Craftsman, price 6d.

10. Lyric Orationes Græcæ & Latinæ. Cantab. Impensis G. Thurlbourn, 8vo, price 6s.

11. Sir Isaac Newton's Table of Assays, &c. Printed for R. Willock, price 1s.

12. Five Tables of Officers Pay. Printed for J. Millan, price 3s.

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19. Reasons for an immediate War against France. Printed for A. Dodd, price 6d.

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SERMONS.

33. A Sermon preach'd at the Assizes held at Lancaster, before the Hon. Thomas Parker, Esq; and the Hon. James Reynolds, Esq; on Friday, August 22, 1740. By Edward Shakespeare, A. M. Published at the Request of the High Sheriff, and the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury. Printed for J. Clark, in Duck-lane; and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane; and J. Hopkins, Bookseller, in Preston, pr. 6d.

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THEOLOGICAL.

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39. Private Reflections and occasional Meditations. By Mr. H. Scougal, S. T. P. Printed for J. Oswald, pr. 6d.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ALL Sorts of ALMANACKS for the Year 1741, will be Published together at Stationers Hall, on Tuesday the 25th Day of November 1740.